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MORAL AND LITERARY

DISSERTATIONS,

ON THE

FOLLOWING SUBJECTS;

1. On Truth and Faithfulnefs.

2. On Habit and Affociation.

- 3. On Inconfistency of Expectation in Literary Pursuits.
- 4. On a Tafte for the general Beauties of Nature.
- 5. On a Tafte for the Fine Arts.
- 6. On the Alliance of Natural Hiftory, and Philosophy, with Poetry.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

A TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF

CHARLES DE POLIER, ESQ.

AND AN

A P P E N D I X.

BY

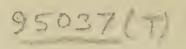
THOMAS PERCIVAL, M.D.F.R.S. & S.A. MEMBER OF THE MEDICAL SOCIETIES OF LONDON AND EDINBURGH, AND OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF PHYSICIANS AT PARIS, &C. &C.

WARRINGTON,

A REAL PROPERTY AND A REAL

Printed by w. EYRES, for J. JOHNSON, St. Paul's Church-Yard, LONDON.

MDCCLXXXIV.





THE RIGHT REVEREND *RICHARD WATSON*, *D.D. F.R.S.* LORD BISHOP OF LANDAFF;

&c. &c. &c.

MY LORD,

THE approbation, with which your lordfhip has been pleafed to honour the firft part of the Work, now offered to your acceptance, encourages me to hope that you will receive the fubfequent Differtations, with the fame friendly and A 3 candid

6 DEDICATION.

candid indulgence. And I am happy in the prefent opportunity, of publicly expressing the respect, esteem, and attachment with which I have the honour to be,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's

much obliged,

and most faithful

bumble Servant,

THOMAS PERCIVAL.

THE

PREFACE.

N offering to the public a mifcellaneous work, like the follow-

ing, it may be proper to give a brief account of the different parts, of which it is composed. The SOCRATIC DISCOURSE was written feveral years ago, for the use of the author's own family; and a few printed copies of it were distributed amongst his friends. The approbation with which it has been honoured, by fome of the most judicious of them, has abated his diffidence concerning it; and the defire of rendering his private labours of utility to mankind, A4

mankind, has induced him to commit it again to the prefs. It forms the first part of a plan, which he has long had in contemplation, of teaching his older children the most important branches of ethics, viz. VERACITY, FAITHFULNESS, JUS-TICE, and BENEVOLENCE, in a systematic and experimental manner, by EXAMPLES. But various causes have hitherto prevented, and will probably continue to prevent, the completion of his defign. He cordially wifhes, therefore, that fome moralist, of more leifure and superior abilities, into whose hands this little piece may fall, would execute, in its full extent, what is here fo partially and imperfectly attempted.

To promote the love of truth, and to excite an averfion to duplicity and falfhood;

falshood, are objects which merit the most ferious attention, in the bufiness of education. And as the minds of children, at an early age, are incapable of difcerning the diftinctions and fubordinations of moral duty, the rules, prefcribed to them, should be absolute and without exception. But in the more advanced period of youth, observation and reading will necessarily point out. many deviations from these rules, not only in the conversation and conduct of their friends, but in the most applauded actions which history records. And when fuch reflections fuggest themselves, it is a proof that the powers of the understanding are unfolded; and that it will be feafonable to graft rational knowledge on the love of virtue. For to obviate error, is the first step towards rectitude; and the abuse of reason, in our moral

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moral judgments, too frequently terminates in depravity of principle.

The author has, in general, given his authorities for the facts, which he has related, that hiftoric truth may be diftinguished from the fictions, introduced for the fake of illustration : But in the ftory of the king of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. of France, they have been unavoidably intermingled. The reference to Sully's Memoirs will, however, shew were the former ends, and the latter commences.

It is well known to the learned, that Socrates gave rife to a new mode of inftruction, in the fchools of philofophy; and that Plato and Xenophon, by recording the moral converfations of their amiable mafter, excited a tafte for dialogue, which has

has prevailed through all fucceeding ages. The mode of exemplification, purfued in the prefent work, has neceffarily occasioned some deviation from each of these great originals; who are, indeed, themfelves fo different, as to agree only in one common outline. But he has copied both in many particulars; especially in the adoption of real characters, for the dramatis personæ, or speakers in his discourse. How far he has done justice to the talents or opinions of Philocles, it is not for him to determine. But if the fentiments, imputed to his late honoured friend, be fuch as he would not have avowed; let it be remembered, that Plato alfo wrote what Socrates difclaimed; * and that the author alone is

* The Lysis. When Socrates heard this dialogue of Plato read, in which he fupported the

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is answerable for whatever he has delivered.

The ESSAYS on the INFLUENCE of HABIT and ASSOCIATION; on INCONSISTENCY OF EXPECTATION in LITERARY PURSUITS; on the ADVANTAGES OF a TASTE for the GENERAL BEAUTIES of NA-TURE and of ART; and on the ALLIANCE OF NATURAL HISTORY and PHILOSOPHY with POETRY, have been read before the LITERARY and PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY, of Manchester, and honoured with a place in their journals. But in these feveral compositions, the discerning reader will perceive evident traits of paternal instruction : And that both

the principal character, "Gods!" he exclaimed, " how this young man makes me fay what I " never thought!"

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in the choice of the fubjects, and in the experimental method of difcuffing them, he has had in view, the interests of those, in whose improvement he is most nearly and tenderly concerned. They will therefore, he trusts, be deemed no improper sequel to the SOCRATIC DISCOURSE.

The composition of a TRIBUTE to the MEMORY of CHARLES DE POLIER, ESQ. devolved upon him, as the friend of the deceased, and officially as president of the very respectable fociety, which appointed this record of his merit. It was written under the impression of heartfelt forrow; and on that account may, perhaps, be suspected of exhibiting a picture, too ftrong in its lineaments, and too glowing in its colours. But time, which calms every emotion, and

and reftores the due authority of judgment over imagination, has made no change in the author's fentiments, concerning the character he has drawn. And the infertion of it, in this work, whilft it gratifies the feelings of his mind, is perfectly confonant to the general defign, which he has in view. For it offers a most instructive model to young men, who are animated with the laudable ambition of uniting liberal and polite manners, with the more folid attainments of learning and virtue.

The APPENDIX to the SOCRATIC DISCOURSE contains fuch remarks and illustrations, as further reflection or reading have fuggested, fince that piece was written. The author is fully apprized of the peculiar delicacy and difficulty of the moral topics, which which he has attempted to investigate; and trufts, that he shall always be difposed to acknowledge and to rectify any errors, into which he may have fallen. For he deems a return to truth and reason, more honourable than the poffession even of infallible judgment; and fincerely adopts the sentiment of a celebrated writer; " that the man, who is free " from mistakes, can pretend to no " praise, except what is derived from " the justness of his understanding; " but that he, who corrects his mif-" takes, displays at once, the justness " of his understanding, and the can-" dour of his heart."

MANCHESTER, September 1, 1783.

ERRATA.

Page	62,	line15, for	Shakefpear, read Shakefpeare.
	92,	6,	authorifed, read authorized.
	98,	7,	id. id.
	100,	13,	apologifed, read apologized.
	107,	14,	philosophising, read philosophizing.
	110,	18,	Chimæras, read Chimeras.
	145,	Note,	Shakefpear's, read Shakefpeare's.
	347,	3,	characterised, read characterized.
	209,	23,	humanifes, read humanizes.
	212,	14,	civilifed, read civilized.
	248,	8,	lightenings, read lightnings.
•		19,	id. id.
	249,	3,	Shakespear, read Shakespeare.
	319,	16,	authorifed, read authorized.

N.B. The Anthor having fuppreffed feveral fections, intended for infertion in the Appendix, the references in the Socratic Difcourfe, to pages 19, 20, 53, 76, 85, 102, 108, are confequently erroneous,

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B O O K S

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SOCRATIC DISCOURSE

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INTER SILVAS ACADEMI QUÆRERE VERUM.

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SOCRATIC DISCOURSE

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T. B. P.

YOU have often been a witnefs, my dear Son, of the pleafure experienced by me, in the recollection of the Academical years, which I paffed at —— in the purfuit of general fcience, before I engaged in my profeffional ftudies at the univerfity of ——. And you have no lefs frequently heard me express the higheft B 2 veneration veneration for the profound learning, and exalted character of Philocles, under whose tuition, the charms of knowledge first attracted my regard. I have lately revifited those fcenes fo delightful to my youth: But, leaving to your conception the emotions which I felt, I shall relate to you a SOCRATIC CONVERSATION, that occurred there in my presence, between Philocles and your kinfman Sophron. This amiable youth, who is likely to reflect a lustre on the facred office, to which, I truft, he will ere long be called, had been reciting to his Professor an Academical composition on the importance of TRUTH, and on the folly, infamy, and baseness of LYING and DE-CEIT. And, when he laid down the book, Philocles expressed an earnest wish, that fuch fentiments might ever influence the heart, and direct the conduct of his pupil. But general rules, continued he, are infufficient for our government in the diversified and complicated occurrences

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of life : And, if we be ambitious of acting with wifdom, honour, and virtue, it is neceffary that we fhould make ourfelves acquainted with the various branches and fubordinations of each moral duty. Let us, therefore, take a particular view of TRUTH, and of her infeparable companion FAITHFULNESS. You are no novice in thefe fubjects; and Euphronius, I am perfuaded, will be pleafed to hear you exercifed in the difcuffion of them.

I prefume you will concur with me in opinion, that MORAL TRUTH is the conformity of our expressions to our thoughts; and FAITHFULNESS, that of our actions to our expressions: And that LYING OF FALS-HOOD is generally a mean, selfish, or malevolent, and always an unjustifiable endeavour to deceive another, by signifying or asserting that to be truth or fact, which is known or believed to be otherwise; and by making promises, without any intention to perform them.

But,

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ON TRUTH.

But, if we believe our affertions or figns to be true, and they fhould afterwards prove to be falfe, tell me, Sophron, are we then guilty of Lying?

No, replied Sophron; we fhall have committed only an error or miftake: For under fuch circumftances, we must have been deceived ourfelves; and could have had no defign of imposing upon others.

But is every breach of promife a Lie, continued Philocles?

I fhould think not, anfwered Sophron, if the promife were made with fincerity, and the violation of it be unavoidable.

Your diftinction is juft, faid Philocles; and there are alfo certain conditions, obvious to the general fenfe of mankind, underftood or implied in almost every promife, on which the performance must depend. Whang-to, Emperor of China, who

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who governed his people like a father, and regarded his own elevation and power as trufts delegated for their good, had a daughter who was his only child, and the darling of his old age. He promised her in marriage to Ousan-quey, the son of his favourite mandarine, and that he would bequeath to him all his dominions as her dowry. Oufan-quey was at that time a youth of the most promifing abilities and difpositions; but the prospect of royalty, and the adulation of a court, foon corrupted his heart. He became haughty, infolent, and cruel; and the people anticipated, with horror, the tyranny which they must endure under his government. By the institutions of the Chinese, the great officers of state may remonstrate to the emperor, when his decrees are injurious to the public intereft; and this privilege has often tended to abate the rigour of defpotifin. Whang-to heard, with grief and astonishment, the complaints

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of his mandarines against Ousan-quey. He fummoned him into his prefence, and being fatisfied with the proofs of his demerit, he addreffed the officers of state in the following terms : " I engaged "my daughter in marriage, and pro-" mifed the inheritance of my dominions " to Oufan-quey, a youth who was wife, "humane, and just. In departing from « virtue, he has cancelled these obliga-"tions, and forfeited his title to both." Then turning to Oufan-quey, he faid, "I command you to retire from my " court, and to pass the remainder of " your days in the most distant province " of my empire."

But is it not deemed peculiarly honourable, Sophron, to perform a promife, when paffion or felf-interest strongly incites us to the violation of it?

Nothing raises our admiration higher, faid Sophron; and I beg leave to relate to you a story, which places this truth in a very striking point of view. A Spanish cavalier, without any reasonable provocation, affassinated a Moorish gentleman, and inftantly fled from juftice. He was vigorously pursued; but availing himfelf of a fudden turn in the road, he leaped, unperceived, over a garden wall. The proprietor, who was also a Moor, happened to be, at that time, walking in the garden; and the Spaniard fell upon his knees before him, acquainted him with his cafe, and in the most pathetic manner, implored concealment. The Moor listened to him with compaffion, and generoufly promised his affistance. He then locked him in a fummer-house, and left him, with an affurance that, when night approached, he would provide for his escape. A few hours afterwards, the dead body of his fon was brought to him; and the defcription of the murderer exactly agreed with the appearance of

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the

ON TRUTH.

the Spaniard, whom he had then in cuftody. He concealed the horror and fufpicion which he felt; and retiring to his chamber, remained there till midnight. Then, going privately into the garden, he opened the door of the fummer-house, and thus accosted the cavalier: " Christian," said he, " the youth "whom you have murdered was my " only fon. Your crime merits the fe-"verest punishment. But I have fo-"lemnly pledged my word for your " fecurity; and I difdain to violate even " a rash engagement with a cruel ene-"my." He conducted the Spaniard to the stables, and furnishing him with one of his swiftest mules, "Fly," faid he, " whilft the darknefs of the night con-. " ceals you. Your hands are polluted "with blood; but GoD is just; and I " humbly thank him that my faith is " unspotted, and that I have refigned " judgment unto him."*

* See Histor. Mirror.

When

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When Sophron had finished this narrative, I took the liberty of observing that Faithfulness is a virtue, which we fometimes meet with in very abandoned characters, who are neither influenced by a fense of religious, nor of moral obligation. In fuch perfons it is founded on certain ideas of HONOUR, which originally fpring from the best natural principles.* After the battle of Culloden, in the year 1745, a reward of thirty thoufand pounds was offered to any one, who should discover or deliver up the young Pretender. He had taken refuge with the Kennedies, two common thieves; who protected him with fidelity; robbed for his fupport; and often went in difguife to Inverness, to buy provisions for him. A confiderable time afterwards, one of these men, who had resisted the temptation of thirty thousand pounds, was hanged for stealing a cow, of the value of thirty shillings. †

* Vid. Appendix, Sect. I. † See Pennant's Tour in Scotland.

But

ON TRUTH.

But I apprehend, refumed Sophron, with much modesty, that there are cases in which it would be more culpable to fulfil, than to violate a promise.

To this proposition Philocles gave his full affent, and illustrated it by the following supposititious case. A brace of loaded piftols have been left in my hands by a friend, to whom I have engaged to reftore them, whenever he shall make the demand. But if he claim them when intoxicated with liquor, or mad with paffion and refentment, it is evident that the performance of my promife would not only be weak, but extremely reprehensible: And my friend himself, in his calm and fober moments, would be amongst the first to charge me with all the mischiefs, occasioned by my erroneous sense of duty. Hasty declarations and rash assertions are fometimes made by good men, who cannot however reasonably or confcientioufly

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tiously fulfil them. When Jesus had washed the feet of several of his difciples, he came to Simon Peter: " And " Peter said unto him, Lord, dost thou " wash my feet? Jesus answered and said, "What I do, thou knowest not now; but " thou shalt know hereafter. Peter said unto " him, Thou shalt never wash my feet ! "Jesus answered him, If I wash thee not, " thou hast no part with me. Simon Peter " faid unto him, Lord, not my feet only, " but also my hands and my head."* Nor can even vows, however folemn, be binding, when the object of them is the commission of a crime. For though appeals to the Deity are facred pledges of our fincerity, they make no change in the nature or legality of actions. And it would be the groffest superstition to suppose, that the violation of God's ordinances can either be honourable, or acceptable to him. + David, in revenge for an infult offered him

* John, Chap, xiii.

† See Appendix, Sect II.

by

by Nabal, vowed that he would put to the fword every male of his family. But his wrath was afterwards appealed; and he became fo fenfible of the injuftice of his defign, that he faid, " Bleffed " be the LORD, who has kept his fervant " from evil."*

It fhould feem, that the Roman emperor Trajan thought it might be criminal in his officers, under certain circumftances, to maintain the allegiance which they had fworn to him. \dagger On the appointment of Suberanus to be captain of the royal guard, he prefented him with a fword, as the badge of his fealty, faying, "Let this be drawn in " my defence, if I rule according to " equity; but if otherwife, it may be " employed againft me." \ddagger

> * 1 Sam. xxv. 22. † See Appendix, Sect. III. † Plin.

> > The

The conclusion concerning the obfervance of promises, may be extended to Veracity, notwithstanding the extravagant declaration of one of the Fathers, " that he would not violate truth, though "he were fure to gain heaven by it." Whenever, from the concurrence of extraordinary circumstances, the practice of one virtue is rendered incompatible with the performance of another, of much higher obligation, it is evident that the inferior must yield to the fuperior duty. An example will elucidate, and evince the justness of this obfervation.

After the horrid maffacre of the Huguenots in France, which began on St. Bartholomew's day, 1572, the king of Navarre was very rigoroufly guarded, by the order of the queen-mother, Catharine de Medicis. But one day, when he was hunting near Senlis, during the heat of the chace, he feized a favourable opportunity 16

opportunity of making his escape; and galloping through the woods, with a few faithful friends, amongst whom was young Rofny, afterwards duke of Sully, he croffed the Seine at Poiffy,* and fled to the caftle of a nobleman, who was a zealous, though fecret protestant, and strongly attached to his interest. Troops of horse were soon difpatched, different ways, in purfuit of him. One of these detachments stopped at the gates of the caftle, where Henry was then refreshing himself; and the captain demanded permission to search for him, fhewing the royal mandate to bring the head of Henry, and to put his attendants to the fword. Refiftance was evidently vain; and compliance would have been a breach of hofpitality, friendship, and humanity; at the fame time that, it must have proved fatal to the interests of the reformed religion, and to the whole body of protestants

* See Sully's Memoirs; and alfo the Preface to this work.

in France, who had no other protector but the king of Navarre. The nobleman, therefore, without hefitation, and with an undaunted countenance, inftantly faid, "Wafte not your time, Sir, " in fruitless fearches. The king of "Navarre, with his friends, paffed this " way about two hours ago; and if you " fet spurs to your horse, you will over-" take him before the night approaches." The captain and his troop, fatisfied with this answer, rode off at full speed; and the king was then left at liberty to provide for his fafety, by difguifing himfelf, and taking a different rout.

Under fuch circumftances, as you have defcribed, all mankind, obferved Sophron, would condemn a ftrict adherence to TRUTH.* But what do you think

> * Infani sapiens nomen ferat, æquus iniqui Ultra quam satis est, virtutem si petat ipsam. Hor. Ep. VI. Lib, I, V, 15.

> > That

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think of the conduct of the Portuguese flave, whose breach of veracity, and even perjury, is extolled by Abbé Raynal, in his History of the European Settlements. This negro, who had fled into the woods to enjoy the liberty which was his natural right, having learned that his old master was arrested, and likely to be condemned for a capital

That which being done admits of a rational justification, is the effence, or general character, of a MORAL DUTY. DIALOGUE CONCERNING HAPPINESS, by JAMES HARRIS, Efq. p. 175.

The right to truth may be forfeited in particular cafes, as by one who hath formed a defign to kill another, and, if not hindered, will probably accomplifh his wicked purpofe. Neither the perfon whofe life is aimed at, fhould he fave himfelf by a lie, nor any one who fhould tell an officious lie for him, will be guilty of the leaft injuffice to him, whom, by this means, they keep from perpetrating the mifchief intended. Inftead of a wrong, it is a kindnefs. GROVE'S MORAL PHI-LOSOPHY, Vol. II. p. 415.

Adhering to the ordinary rules of duty, in these extraordinary cases, may sometimes occasion greater evils to our country, or to mankind, than all the virtues, any one mortal can exert, will repair. HUTCHESON'S MORAL PHILOSOPHY, Vol. II. 4to. p. 117. See a farther discussion of this subject, in the Appendix Sect IV. Confut all Genesis, Chap. xii.

crime,

crime, came into the court of juftice; affumed the guilt of the fact; fuffered himfelf to be imprifoned; brought falfe, though judicial proofs of his crime; and was executed inftead of his beloved mafter.

The disapprobation of falshood, in this inftance, answered Philocles, is fuppreffed for a while, by our admiration of the affection, gratitude, generofity, and greatness of mind displayed by the negro. We lament the bondage of fuch a hero; and regret that his exalted virtues were not difplayed on a more important and honourable occafion. But when thefe first emotions are over, and we difpaffionately reflect on the conduct of the flave, we must condemn it as an unjustifiable sacrifice of truth, of his own life, and of the duty which he owed to fociety.* The divine command, " Thou " shalt not bear false witness AGAINST thy

* See Appendix, Sect. V.

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" neighbour,"

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"neighbour," cannot furely be fupposed to imply, that he may bear false witness in his FAVOUR; because this would be to forbid private injury, and to authorife public wrongs. Judicial testimony, in the prefent circumstances of the moral world, is effential to the well-being of fociety; and to leffen the general credibility of it, by introducing into courts of law falshood and perjury, is a high crime against the state, and severely punished in all countries which have emerged from barbarifm.* Befides, the good of the community requires that justice should be executed on the offender himfelf, to prevent him from committing other crimes : And it would give encouragement to vice, if an innocent person, perhaps tired of life, or influenced by enthusiastic notions of honour, friendship, or love, might suffer for another who is guilty.

, * See Appendix, Sect. VI.

The

The certainty of punishment, even in misdemeanors, is strongly urged by the Marquis de Beccaria, the great advocate for judicial lenity. And he thinks the forgiveness of the injured party himself, should not interrupt the execution of justice. " This may be an act of good-" nature and humanity," he observes, " but it is contrary to the good of the " public. For although a private citi-" zen may dispense with fatisfaction for " his private injury, he cannot remove " the neceffity of public example. The " right of punishing belongs not to any " individual in particular, but to the " fociety in general, or the fovereign "who reprefents that fociety: And a " man may renounce his own portion of " this right, but he cannot give up that " of others."

The conduct of the negro, faid Sophron, however erroneous it might be in point of wifdom, or unjuftifiable with C 3 refpect

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respect to its morality, was perfectly generous and difinterested. But the same elegant writer, who records this fact, has related another example of the violation of truth, from motives purely selfish, which I cannot condemn, though I know not how to justify. I will endeavour to recollect, and to repeat the ftory. A British ferjeant was taken prifoner by the favages in America; who prepared themfelves to put him to death, with all the barbarity which their skill in torture could invent. Shocked with the view of the horrid fufferings which awaited him, he thus addreffed the Indians : " Mighty " warriors, your preparations are vain, " for my body is invulnerable; and if " you will fet me at liberty, I will teach " you how to become fo. Think not " that I impose upon you by false pre-" tenfions. I am willing that you fhould "try upon me an experiment, which " may fatisfy your doubts. Let the chief, " who

22

"who holds my hanger, now ftrike with all his force. I equally defy the fharpnefs of the inftrument, and the ftrength of his arm." Whilft he was faying thefe words, he bent his head, and laid bare his neck. The Indian eagerly advanced; and by one furious blow, fevered the head from the body. Thus the poor ferjeant, by his prefence of mind, exchanged lingering tortures for an eafy and inftantaneous death.

Euphronius here remarked, that the ftory is of doubtful authority, by the confeffion of the Abbé himfelf. But admitting the truth of it, continued he, for the fake of argument, what moralift can be fo rigid as not to deem the conduct of the ferjeant at leaft excufable? Perhaps no man, in fimilar circumftances, would have acted differently, if he poffeffed fufficient compofure to devife, or addrefs to practife fuch an expedient. The cafe is not analogous to that of C 4 martyrmartyrdom for religion. The horrid fufferings to be endured, in this inftance, could anfwer no good end; and fociety received not the leaft injury, either immediate or remote, by the evalion of them.

Recollecting an historical fact of unquestionable truth, and strictly applicable to the point in debate, I requested permission to relate it. When Columbus and his crew were caft away on an ifland, more than thirty leagues from Hifpaniola, nothing remained to them in prospect, but to end their miserable days with naked favages, far from their country and their friends. To add to these calamities, the natives began foon to murmur at the refidence of the Spaniards amongst them; the support of whom became burthensome to men, ignorant of agriculture, and unaccustomed to exertion or industry: They brought in provisions with reluctance, furnished them sparingly, and

and even threatened entirely to withhold them. Such a refolution must have occafioned inevitable destruction to the Spaniards; but Columbus prevented it by a happy device, that revived all the admiration and reverence, with which the Indians first regarded these strangers. By his skill in astronomy, he knew there was shortly to be a total eclipse of the moon. On the day before it happened, he affembled the principal perfons of the district, and after reproaching them for their defection from those, whom they had lately revered, he told them that the Spaniards were fervants of the Great Spirit, who dwells in heaven: That, offended at their refusal to support the objects of his peculiar favour, the Deity was preparing to punish their crime with exemplary feverity; and that the moon should be darkened that very night, and affume a bloody hue, as a fign of the Divine wrath, and an emblem of the vengeance ready to fall on them. To

this

this marvellous prediction, fome of the barbarians liftened with careless indifference; others, with credulous aftonishment: But when the moon began gradually to withdraw her light, and at length appeared of a red colour, all were ftruck with terror. They ran with confternation to their houses, and returning to Columbus loaded with provisions, threw them inftantly at his feet, conjuring him to intercede with the Great Spirit, to avert the deftruction with which they were threatened. Columbus, feeming to be moved by their intreaties, promifed to comply with their defire. The eclipfe went off, the moon recovered its splendour; and from that time, the Spaniards were not only furnished profusely with provisions, but treated with the most superstitious attention.* This folemn deceit of Columbus may be justified by the rights of neceffity. Shipwrecked on a diftant coaft, in the profe-

* See Robertson's Hift. of America, Vol. I. Book 2.

cution

cution of an enterprize, which, in his mind, appears to have originated from honourable and useful views, and destitute of every means of fupplying himfelf and his affociates with fuftenance, he had a claim to the protection, affistance, and fupport of the people who were spectators of his calamity. And it was a happy fertility of genius, which fuggested to him an expedient, far preferable to the force of arms. But I feel a fecret wish, that this truly great man had mixed lefs of falfity with his artifice. He might have reprehended the Indians for their want of hospitality, alarmed their fears by his prediction, and excited their wonder and reverence by its fulfilment, without denouncing, in fuch unguarded terms, the immediate vengeance of Heaven. Truth is fo important, and of fo delicate a nature, that every poffible precaution should be employed to extenuate its violation, although the facrifice be made to duties which fuperfede its obligation.

Philocles

Philocles very obligingly thanked me for recalling to his memory fo pertinent a fact. He then turned to his pupil, and afked him what he thought of the maxim, which fome perfons have adopted, " that " faith is not to be kept with rogues " or traitors ?"

I think the maxim, replied Sophron, false in itself, and highly injurious to fociety. For, independent of the licentiousness and cruelty, to which it might give rife, a man owes to his own honour and peace of mind, except on very extraordinary occasions, the strict performance of his promise. And this opinion feems to have influenced the conduct of the great Viscount Turenne, and of Sir Richard Herbert. The former was attacked one night by robbers near Paris, who stripped him of his money, watch, and rings. He engaged to give them a hundred louis d'ors, if they would return him a ring, of little intrinsic worth, but

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but on which he fet a particular value. The highwaymen complied; and one of them had the boldnefs to go to his houfe the fucceeding day, and in the midft of a large company to demand, in a whifper, the performance of his promife. The Vifcount gave orders for the money to be paid; and fuffered the villain to efcape, before he related the adventure.*

Sir Richard Herbert, being fent by Edward the Fourth, to reduce certain rebels in North Wales, laid fiege to Harlech caftle, in Merionethfhire; a fortrefs fo ftrong, that he defpaired of taking it but by blockade and famine. The captain of it offered to furrender, on condition that Sir Richard would do what be could to fave bis life. The condition was accepted; and Sir Richard brought the commander to the king, requefting his majefty to grant him a pardon, as the expectation of this favour

* See Ramfay's Life of Turenne.

had

had induced him to yield up an important castle, which he might have defended. Edward replied to Sir Richard Herbert, " That as he had no power, " by his commission, to pardon any one, "he might therefore, after the repre-" fentation hereof to his fovereign, de-" liver him up to justice." Sir Richard Herbert answered, "He had not yet " done the best he could for him; and "therefore most humbly defired his "highnefs to do one of two things; " either to put him again in the caftle " where he had been, and command " fome other to take him out; or, if " his highnefs would not do fo, to take " his life for the captain's, that being " the last proof he could give, that he "had used his utmost endeavour to " fulfil his promise." The king, finding himfelf fo much urged, pardoned the captain, but bestowed on Sir Richard Herbert no other reward for his fervice.*

* See the Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury.

Thefe

These gentlemen, faid Philocles, difplayed a delicate sense of honour; and, though I am dubious, whether the conduct of Monfieur Turenne has the fanction of the great Roman cafuift, * yet, according to my judgment, both he and Sir Richard Herbert acted conformably to the laws of reason and rectitude. For every lawful promise, made by one poffeffing prefence of mind, and the free use of reason, no event or confideration fucceeding, which an unbiaffed underftanding would deem sufficient to render it unlawful, ought to be religiously obferved. † But promises, extorted by fear, and that clearly contravene our duty to fociety, are void in themfelves: Thus an engagement made with fincerity, under the strong impressions of terror, to a highwayman or murderer,

* Si prædonibus paEtum pro capite pretium non attuleris, nulla fraus est, ne si juratus quidem id non feceris. Cic. de Off. Lib. III. Cap. 29.

+ See Grove's Mor. Philosophy.

not to bear teftimony againft him, can be of no validity; becaufe there fubfifts an antecedent claim of the community, which cannot be difpenfed with by any of its members. I have fuppofed the engagement to be fincere; for, if entered into with a previous defign of violation, a breach of truth and faithfulnefs is in fome degree committed, notwithftanding its injuffice or illegality.

But when you deliver to another as a certain truth, what you believe to be falfe, are you guilty of lying, fhould it afterwards prove to be true?

Yes, anfwered Sophron; becaufe my intention is to deceive, and to make a fuppofed falfhood pafs for truth. Chian-fu was an officer in the guards of the emperor of Japan. He had formed a tender connection with one of the ladies of the court, and was on the point of marriage, when a formidable infurrection,

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infurrection, in a distant island of the empire, occasioned by the tyranny and cruel exactions of the government, obliged him to leave the capital without delay, to affume his post in the royal army. The war was protracted through various causes; and he bore with great impatience fo long an abfence from his mistres. By the influence of a bribe, he obtained permission from the commander in chief to return to Jeddo, for a few weeks; during which time he hoped to celebrate his nuptials. But dreading left the emperor should refent his defertion of the army, at fo critical a conjuncture, he pretended that he brought tidings, from the general, of an important advantage, gained over the enemy; which was likely foon to be fucceeded by a complete victory. These accounts were founded on probability, not on truth. His falshoods, however, procured him the most favourable reception at court. He married the lady; and

after

after a week fpent in feftivity, prepared for his departure to join the army. An express at this time arrived, with the news of the entire defeat of the infurgents; but no mention was made of any previous dispatches by Chian-fu. The emperor fuspected that he had been guilty of deceit. He was strictly examined; confessed his crime, and the motives of it; and was condemned to fusser immediate death. For lying is a capital offence, by the laws of Japan.

If truth, refumed Philocles, be an agreement between our words and thoughts, are you under an obligation to express all your thoughts?

No, faid Sophron, prudence often forbids it; and it is no violation of truth to conceal those thoughts, or that knowledge, with which another has no right to be acquainted. On a particular occasion, the Jews demanded of Jefus,

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Jefus, "What fign shewest thou unto us? "Jefus answered and said, Destroy this tem-"ple, and in three days I will raise it up. "Then said the Jews, Forty and six years "was this temple in building, and wilt thou "rear it up in three days? But he spake of "the temple of his body. When therefore he "was arisen from the dead, his disciples "remembered that he had said this unto "them."*

Sometimes, when improper or treacherous queftions are asked, filence would be no less dangerous, than an explicit declaration of our fentiments. In these cases, we shall be justified in the use of such evasions, as do not contradict the truth. When the chief priests and so fuch evasions, as do not contradict the truth. When the chief priests and so inquired of our Saviour, whether it was lawful to pay tribute unto Cæsar? "He perceived their crasti-"ness, and faid unto them, Why tempt ye "me? Shew me a penny: Whose image

* John, Chap. ii. Ver. 18.

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ss and

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" and superscription bath it? They answered and said, Cæsar's. And he said unto them, "Render unto Cæsar the things which be "Cæsar's, and unto GOD the things which be GOD's. And they could not take hold of his words before the people: And they "marvelled at his answers, and held their "peace."

Under the reign of the cruel and bigoted queen Mary, the princefs Elizabeth, her fifter, fuffered a variety of perfecutions, on account of her fteady attachment to the protestant religion. It is faid, she was one day interrogated concerning the Lord's Supper; and that she returned the following prudent, and evalue answer:

- " Chrift was the word that fpake it;
- " He took the bread and brake it;
- " And what the word did make it,
- " That I believe and take it." *

* Walpole's Cat. of Royal and Noble Authors.

Philocles

Philocles expressed much satisfaction in the judicious distinction, which his pupil had made, and observed, that the conduct of the princess Elizabeth is fully justified by the example of the apostle Paul, in circumstances not very diffimilar. The Athenians had a law, which rendered it capital to promulgate any new divinities.* And when Paul preached to them JESUS and the RESUR-RECTION, he was accused of having broken this law, and of being a "fetter forth of strange Gods;" and was carried before the Areopagus, a court of judicature, which took cognifance of all criminal matters, and was, in a particular manner, charged with the care of the established religion. An impostor, in fuch a, fituation, would have retracted his doctrine to fave his life; and an enthusiast would have facrificed his life, without attempting to fave it by innocent means. But the Apostle wifely avoided

* Socrates fuffered under this law.

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both

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both extremes; and availing himfelf of an infcription "TO THE UNKNOWN GOD," which he had feen upon an altar in the city, he pleaded in his own defence, "Whom ye ignorantly worfhip, bim declare I unto you." By this prefence of mind, he evaded the law, and efcaped condemnation, without departing from the truth of the Gofpel, or violating the honour of GoD.*

Though I am no general admirer, continued Philocles, of the maxims of morality delivered by Lord Chefterfield, yet I think his remarks on the prefent fubject peculiarly worthy of attention. "The prudence and neceffity," fays the noble author, " of frequently concealing " the truth, infenfibly feduces people to " violate it. It is the only art of mean " capacities, and the only refuge of mean " fpirits. Whereas concealing the truth,

* Vid. Acts xvii. 23. Alfo Lord Lyttelton's Obfervations on the Conversion and Apostleship of St. Paul.

" upon

« upon proper occasions, is as prudent " and as innocent, as telling a lie, upon " any occafion, is infamous and foolifh. " I will state you a cafe in your own " department. Suppose you are em-" ployed at a foreign court, and that " the minister of that court is absurd or " impertinent enough to afk you, what " your instructions are; will you tell " him a lie, which as foon as found out, " and found out it certainly will be, "must destroy your credit, blast your " character, and render you ufelefs there? " No. Will you tell him the truth then, " and betray your truft? As certainly, "No. But you will answer, with firm-"nefs, That you are furprifed at fuch " a question; that you are perfuaded he " does not expect an answer to it; but " that at all events he certainly will not "have one. Such an answer will give " him confidence in you; he will con-" ceive an opinion of your veracity, of "which opinion you may afterwards " make very honest and fair advantages."

Philocles

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Philocles proceeded to interrogate his pupil, whether falsity, when in jest, is to be deemed a lie? But Sophron declined the question, as too nice for his decifion; and defired to hear the fentiments of Philocles, who delivered them in the following terms. Wit and irony, raillery and humour, are often deviations from the strict rules of veracity: But they are allowed by common confent; and, under proper reftrictions, they contribute to enliven conversation, and to improve our manners. But jocularity is certainly culpable, and may be deemed a fpecies of lying, when it is intended to deceive, without any good end in view; and especially with the ungenerous one of diverting ourfelves at the painful expence of another. The practice also may lead to more criminal falfhoods; and it is related with honour of Aristides, that he held truth to be fo facred, ut ne joco quidem mentiretur.

Some

Some jocular lies have produced the most serious and affecting consequences; of which I will give you an example or two, in the youthful frolics of Hilario, a nobleman who now looks back, with forrow and regret, on the fufferings occafioned by his levity. When he was a ftudent at Cambridge, he went at midnight crying fire, fire! to the chamber door of one of the fellows of _____, a gentleman univerfally admired for his literary and poetical abilities, but who was of a timid and melancholy difpo-. fition. The gentleman awaked out of a found fleep, and, attentive only to the first suggestions of fear, leaped through the window, at the hazard of losing his life by the fall. Not long after this transaction, Hilario went up to London; and dining in a mixed company of perfons of fashion, he happened to fit near. a grave old gentleman, who took the first opportunity of making particular inquiries concerning a youth, then at Cambridge,

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Cambridge, whom he knew to be intimately acquainted with this nobleman. Hilario instantly fuspected, that the ferious Don was a rich uncle of his friend; and determined that he would give fuch an account of the nephew, as should occasion a solemn letter of reproof, over which he hoped to regale himfelf, on his return to college. He therefore jocularly faid, that his companion was a fine jolly fellow, always forming connections with the girls; that he loved to rattle the dice; and that he had lately lost his next quarter's allowance, which would lower his courage at play, for fome time to come. From the alteration which he perceived in the ftranger's countenance, he was affured of the fuccefs of his bum, an abfurd term given to this shameful kind of lie : And, when he got back to Cambridge, he haftened to the apartment of his friend, to enjoy the laughter which he fhould raife at his expence. But how was he shocked

to

to find him in the delirium of a fever, occafioned by a billet, which had been delivered the preceding day, purporting, "That Lucinda had juft beftowed her "hand, upon a perfon much more deferving of her affections, than he had been reprefented to her father by Hilario, his affociate in pleafure, extravagance, and profligacy."

By fuch thoughtlefs, and unjuftifiable violations of truth, Hilario was often wounding his own peace of mind, and involving his connections in diftrefs. He was, however, at length compelled to correct this criminal habit, through the horror which he felt, on having given rife to a fatal duel between two brothers, by jocularly infinuating to one of them, that he was rivalled in the affections of his miftrefs, by the other.

It would be happy, faid I, if we could afcertain the reftrictions, under which thefe thefe fallies of frolic and jocularity may be indulged with innocence. One general rule may, I think, be admitted, that the entertainment, which we thus create to ourfelves, fhould be fuch only as will be a future fubject of mirth even to those, who are the present sufferers by it. But, to use the words of an excellent moralist, " as every action may " produce effects, over which human " power has no influence, and which "human fagacity cannot foresee; we " fhould not lightly venture to the verge " of evil; nor strike at others, though " with a reed, left, like the rod of Mofes, " it become a ferpent in our hands." *

Philocles now purfued the fubject, by inquiring into the nature of EQUIVOCA-TION; which Sophron defined to be a mean expedient to avoid the declaration of truth, without verbally telling a lie. An equivocation, faid he, confifts of

* Dr. Hawksworth.

fuch

fuch expressions, as admit of more than one meaning. The speaker uses them in one fenfe, and defigns that the hearer should understand them in another. Cicero mentions a certain person, who made a truce with the enemy for thirty days, and treacheroufly evaded his agreement, by laying wafte the country during the nights; alledging, that the truce was for fo many days, not nights.* Such an equivocation as this, has all the guilt, and infamy of a lie; but I do not feel myfelf inclined to condemn the duplicity, practifed by a gentleman, on the following occasion. He was returning home from the affizes at York, and was attacked on the road by a highwayman, to whom he delivered a fmall purse of money. The robber told him, that he should not be fatisfied with a few guineas; and sternly demanded the fum, which he knew he had received, and then carried about him. The

* Vid. Cicero de Officiis, Lib. I. Cap. 13.

gentleman,

gentleman, with great apparent terror, drew out of his pocket a leathern bag, and giving it to the highwayman, faid, " Take what you want, but spare my life." The robber eagerly received it, and was transported with the value of his acquisition. He rode off with it, through bye lanes, till he arrived at a place of fecurity. There he stopped to examine his booty, which to his aftonishment he found to confift only of a quantity of halfpence, together with a copy of the dying fpeech and earnest exhortations of a malefactor, who had been executed the preceding day for robbery.

Can you acquit me, Philocles, faid I, of the criminality of equivocation, when, in the exercife of my profeffional duties, I ftudy, by cheerful looks and ambiguous words, to remove from my patients the horrors of defpair, to mitigate the apprehenfions of danger, and to deceive them into hope; that, by adminiftering a cordial

a cordial to the drooping fpirit, I may fmooth the bed of death, or revive even expiring life? For there are maladies, which rob the Philosopher of fortitude, and the Christian of consolation.

From my heart I acquit you, anfwered Philocles, with his wonted humanity. You do a kindnefs, not a wrong, to the perfon whom you thus deceive; and may reafonably prefuppofe his future approbation of that conduct, which meets with the prefent acquiefcence of all his friends. The amiable and elegant Pliny, who had the niceft fenfe of honour, recites with applaufe, in a letter to Nepos, a ftory, which may perhaps contribute to fatisfy your mind, and remove your fcruples.

The husband of the celebrated Arria, Cæcinna Pætus, was very dangerously ill. Her son was also sick at the same time; and died. He was a youth of uncommon

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uncommon accomplifhments, and fondly beloved by his parents. Arria prepared and conducted his funeral in fuch a manner, that her husband remained entirely ignorant of the mournful event, which occafioned that folemnity. Pætus often inquired, with anxiety, about his fon; to whom she cheerfully replied, that he had flept well, and was better. But if her tears, too long reftrained, were burfting forth, she instantly retired, to give vent to her grief; and when again composed, she returned to Pætus with dry eyes, and a placid countenance, quitting, as it were, all the tender feelings of the mother, at the threshold of her husband's chamber.*

But, addreffing himfelf to Sophron, is it not a fpecies of equivocation, and a breach of faithfulnefs, continued Philocles, when we do not perform our promifes, according to the plain and obvious meaning of them ?

* Plin, Epift, XVI, Lib, III,

Without

Without doubt it is, answered Sophron. The moralist whom I before quoted, relates, that ten Romans, who had been taken in the battle of Cannæ, were sent by Hannibal to the fenate, to propofe an exchange of prifoners. Before they fet out, each of them engaged, by an oath, to return to the camp of the Carthaginians, if the embaffy should prove ineffectual. The senate rejected the offers of Hannibal; and nine of the prifoners honourably rendered themfelves up to him. But the tenth refused to return, on pretence, that he had already difcharged himself of his oath. For it feems, that he went back to the camp of the Carthaginians, foon after he quitted it, to fetch some necessaries, which he had defignedly left behind, that he might be able to plead his having complied, literally, with the terms of his engagement. But the fenate difdained the deceit, and commanded the artful wretch to be fent bound to Hannibal.

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Mental,

Mental, and other private refervations neither absolve, nor even extenuate the guilt of lying. When the unfortunate Mary queen of Scotland was married to the dauphin of France, the king, his father, folemnly ratified every article, infifted upon by the Scotch parliament, for preferving the independence of their nation, and for fecuring the fuccession of the crown to the house of Hamilton. But Mary, by his perfuasion, had antecedently and privately fubfcribed three deeds, by which, fhe configned the kingdom of Scotland, on failure of her own iffue, to his family; declaring all her promises, to the contrary, to be void.* The remark of Bishop Taylor may be adopted, as the best comment on transactions of this infamous nature. If the words be a lie without reservation, they are fo with it: For this does not alter the words themfelves; nor the meaning

* Lord Kaims's Hiftory of Man, Vol. IV. p. 158.

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of

of the words; nor the purpose of him who delivers them.*

But in what light are we to regard the ftratagems, falfhood, and acts of deceit, which have been employed in war, and often with applaufe, both in ancient and modern times?

In reply to this interefting queftion, Philocles obferved, that war is feldom founded in juftice; and that, therefore, we cannot be furprifed that it fhould occafion, amongft thofe who wage it, a fufpenfion of the common laws of morality. The fraudulent exploits which are practifed, by the tacit confent, as it were, of the parties, may dazzle and furprife a fuperficial obferver; but a ferious, honeft mind, will generally condemn them, as inconfiftent with the obligations of religion and virtue; and, except under very particular circum-

* Ductor Dubitant. p. 498.

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stances,

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stances, injurious to the contending powers themfelves. For, as integrity is the best policy in the conduct of individuals towards each other, it will appear to be equally fo in the tranfactions between states, and communities, if an extensive view be taken of their great and permanent interests. Cicero, in one of his dialogues, introduces Scipio as maintaining the following excellent maxim: non modo FALSUM effe illud, SINE INJURIA non posse, sed hoc verissimum, sine SUMMA JUSTITIA rempublicam regi non posse. "It is so far from being true, that " government cannot be carried on with-" out injury to others, that nothing is "more certain, than that it cannot be "well administered without an inviolable " adherence to the strictest justice." And the propriety of this observation feems to be acknowledged, in some of the regulations of war, now univerfally adopted in civilized countries.

But a diffinction should be made, between art or stratagem, and perfidy or falfhood.* The wifeft and beft moralifts admit, that we may deceive our enemies, when we have a just cause of war, by any fuch figns, as import no profession of communicating our sentiments to them. Thus I have heard, that the duke of Marlborough, when he commanded the allied army in Germany, called a council of war, on a particular occasion, to determine whether he should attack the enemy on the fucceeding day. His general officers were unanimous in recommending the measure; but the duke expressed his objections to it in the ftrongest terms; and the council fubmitted to his fuperior judgment. When he retired into his tent, prince Eugene followed him, and lamented the difgrace, in which fuch a decifion would involve them. " My refolution," faid the duke, " is fixed to give battle to-

* See Appendix, Sect. VII.

E 3

" morrow;

"morrow; and I fhall inftantly iffue the neceffary orders. But I oppofed this plan in council, becaufe I had received fecret information, that our enemies had concerted the means of becoming acquainted with the refult of our deliberations. And you will agree with me in the neceffity of deceiving them."

But men of true courage and honour, must hold in detestation all treachery and falshood. The earl of Peterborough, in conjunction with the prince of Darmstadt, carried on the fiege of Barcelona, about the beginning of the present century. The governor offered to capitulate, and came to a parley with lord Peterborough at the gates of the city. The articles were not yet figned; when fuddenly loud fhouts and huzzas were heard in the town. "You have perfidiously betrayed us !" faid the governor to the earl: Whilft we are capitulating, with un-" fufpecting

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" fufpecting honour and fincerity, your " English soldiers have entered the city " by the ramparts; and are now com-" mitting rapine, murder, and every kind " of violence." "You do injustice to "the English," replied the general : " This treachery is chargeable only on " the troops of Darmstadt. But permit "me to enter into the town with my " foldiers, and I will instantly repress " the outrage, and return to the gate " to finish the capitulation."

The offer was made with an air of truth, and fincerity; and accepted with a generous confidence. Peterborough haftened into the streets, where he found the Germans and Catalans pillaging the houses of the principal inhabitants. He drove them away; and obliged them to leave the booty, which they were carrying off: And, after having quieted all difturbances, he rejoined the governor, and completed the capitulation, without demanding

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manding any new, or more advantageous terms. The Spaniards were aftonifhed at the magnanimity of the English, whom they had generally regarded before as faithles barbarians.*

Sophron remarked, that the glory, on this occasion, appeared to belong chiefly to lord Peterborough, as an individual. But I recollect, continued he, a tranfaction in the Grecian history, which feems to evince an equal fense of honour, and deteftation of perfidy, in the whole body of the Athenians. These people were inflamed with the ambition of governing Greece; and Themistocles, a favourite general, exerted all his talents to accomplifh the defign. One day he affembled the citizens of Athens, and informed them, he had a most important plan to propose; but that he could not communicate it to them, because the success of it depended upon

* See Voltaire's Siecle de Louis XIV.

fecrecy.

secrecy. He therefore requested them to appoint a confidential person, to whom he might explain his views, and whofe approbation of them might have the force of public authority. Ariftides was unanimoufly chofen; and Themiftocles laid open to him the project, which he had conceived, of burning the whole fleet of the Grecian states, then lying unguarded in a neighbouring port; the destruction of which, he faid, could not fail to fecure the dominion of Athens. Ariftides returned to the affembly, and declared, that the project of Themistocles promised the greatest benefit to the commonwealth; but that it was perfidious and unjust. The people instantly, and with one voice, rejected the propofal. But the Athenians were foon afterwards corrupted by profperity: And Thucydides informs us, it became, with them, a maxim of state, " that " nothing is dishonourable, which is " advantageous." *

* Thucydid, Lib. VI.

Here I could not forbear to mention a noble, and long-continued exertion of public faith and commercial honour, though it was a flight digreffion from the topic of discourse. The Spanish galeons, deftined to fupply Tierra Firma, and the kingdoms of Peru and Chili, with almost every article of necessary confumption, touch first at Carthagena, and then at Porto-Bello. In the latter place a fair is opened; the wealth of America is exchanged for the manufactures of Europe; and, during its prefcribed term of forty days, the richeft traffic on the face of the earth is begun and finished, with unbounded confidence, and the utmost fimplicity of transaction. No bale of goods is ever opened, no cheft of treasure is examined. Both are received on the credit of the perfons to whom they belong; and only one instance of fraud is recorded, during the long period in which trade was carried on with this liberal confidence. All the coined

coined filver which was brought from Peru to Porto-Bello in the year 1654, was found to be adulterated, and to be mingled with a fifth part of bafe metal. The Spanish merchants, with their usual integrity, suftained the whole loss, and indemnified the foreigners by whom they were employed. The fraud was detected; and the treasurer of the revenue in Peru, the author of it, was publicly burnt.*

Are we not every day guilty of lying, purfued Philocles, in the common forms of civility; and in various modes of fpeech, which cuftom has introduced ?

Surely not, replied Sophron; for if thefe be well underftood, no one is deceived by them.

I do not entirely accord with you, Sophron, faid I; and I believe it will not be eafy to juftify, upon the principles

* Robertson's Hift, of America, Vol. II. Note 93. B. 8. either

either of wifdom or strict morality, many complimental expressions used in converfation. You remember the letter of the ambaffador from Bantam, which is inferted in one of the volumes of the Spectator. This honeft stranger informs his master, that the people of England call him and his fubjects barbarians, becaufe they fpeak the truth; and account themfelves polite and civilized, becaufe they fay one thing, and mean another. "On " my first landing," fays he, " one told " me that he should be glad to do me " any fervice in his power. I defired " him therefore to carry my portman-" teau; but inftead of ferving me ac-" cording to his promife, he laughed, " and ordered another to do it. I lodg-" ed the first week at the house of a per-" fon, who intreated me to think myfelf " at home, and to confider his houfe as "my own. Accordingly, the next morn-" ing I began to knock down one of the " walls, in order to let in the fresh air; " and

" and packed up fome of the houfhold " goods, of which I intended to make " thee a prefent. But the falfe varlet " foon fent me word, that he would have " no fuch doings in his houfe." Perhaps, however, I may incur the charge of falfhood, by quoting the letter of an ambaffador, who never exifted.

Such fictions, Philocles remarked, partake not of the nature of lies. They are intended to convey amufement or inftruction, not to ferve the purpofes of deceit.

Nor is the cafe effentially different, with refpect to the common forms of civility. Their import is known to all who ufe them; and, as they are expressive of urbanity and benevolence, they tend, under proper reftrictions, to fosten the association of fostial intercourfe. Genuine courtefy has, indeed, its feat in the heart; and implies

implies the defire of gratifying others, in the fubordinate offices of life, by the facrifice of our own ease or interest. It is effential, therefore, to every amiable character; and can only difplay itfelf in fuch appropriated modes as cuftom has established in different countries, or amongst different ranks of men. But, when the *fubstance* is wanting, fome benefit is derived to the world even from its forms: And to the ruftic, who claims the privilege of speaking improper truths, or of acting with rude and malicious fincerity, we may justly address the words of Shakespear:

----- " This is fome fellow,

"Who, having been praised for bluntnefs, doth affect

« A faucy roughness, and constrains the garb

" Quite from his nature. He can't flatter, he,

" An honeft mind and plain; he must speak truth,

" An they will take it fo; if not, 'tis plain."

On this account, I cannot but condemn the affected feverity of Paulinus, bishop

of

of Nola, who reproves his correspondent Sulpicius Severus, for having fubscribed himfelf his fervant. "Beware," fays this primitive writer, "thou fubscribe " not thyfelf HIS SERVANT, who is thy "BROTHER; for flattery is finful; and "it is not a testimony of humility, to " give those honours to men, which are " only due to the One Lord, Master, " and God."* We find the patriarch Abraham actuated by no fuch fcruples, though he lived in the period of pastoral fimplicity, and was highly diftinguished for his virtue and integrity. " And be " lift up bis eyes, and looked; and lo, three "men stood by him: And when he saw them, " he ran to meet them from the tent door, " and bowed himself toward the ground; " and faid, My lord, if now I have found " favour in thy fight, pass not away, I pray " thee, from thy Servant." +

* See Barclay's Apology, p. 525.

† Genefis, Chap. xviii. Ver. 2, 3.

Lot,

Lot, alfo, is reprefented, in the book of Genefis, as accofting, in fimilar terms, two ftrangers, with whofe dignity he was then unacquainted. "And be faid, "Bebold now, my lords, turn in, I pray "you, into your fervant's boufe, and tarry "all night, and wash your feet; and ye "shall rife up early, and go on your ways."*

The conduct and expressions of these venerable patriarchs, might, I observed, be perfectly confistent with the nicest adherence to truth and fincerity. For though they stilled themselves the *fervants* of the strangers, whom they addressed, they could not mean to extend the term beyond such *fervices*, as the laws of hofpitality required.

Similar laws, anfwered Philocles, which general confent has eftablished, bind every man, in the common intercourse of life, to restrain his angry

** Genefis, Chap. xix. Ver. 2.

passions,

passions, to silence his severe judgments, to fupprefs his pride and arrogance, and not only to correct whatever is offenfive in his manners, but to shew that urbanity of fpirit, which, by its benevolent attentions, contributes to alleviate mifery, and to increase the fum of public happiness and order. Mistake me not, however, by fuppofing that I would recommend forward professions, a fawning demeanour, or unlimited complaisance. Integrity of heart, and steadiness of principle, forbid all finful conformity with the world : And I would neither flatter folly, countenance vice, nor yield up one important duty to artificial politeness. But the facrifice of my own pride, resentment, caprice, or ill nature, to focial ease and enjoyment, may often be required : And he, who, like Diogenes, neither possessent the fubstance, nor the form of courtefy, should be banished from the world. This Cynic, you remember, when he paid a visit to Plato, F who

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who united a tafte for elegance with the love of philosophy, exulted in the rudenefs of reproof, and bedaubing with his dirty feet the fine carpet, which covered the floor, cried out, "Thus I trample on the pride of Plato." "But with far greater pride," retorted Plato, with a farcastic feverity, which the occasion fully juftified. Lord Bacon mentions two noblemen of his acquaintance, one of whom kept a very magnificent table, but treated his guests with illiberal freedom : The other, when he entertained the fame guests, probably with humbler cheer, but more politeness, used to ask them, "Tell truly, was there never a flout, or dry blow given at my lord's table ?" To which the guests answered, "Such and fuch a thing paffed." "I thought," faid this nobleman, "he would mar a good dinner."*

Urbanity has been admirably characterifed, by a celebrated writer, under

* Bacon's Effays, XXXII.

the appellation of GENTLENESS. " This virtue," he observes, " is founded on a " fense of what we owe to Him who "made us, and to the common nature " of which we all share. It arises from " reflection on our own failures and "wants; and from just views of the " condition and the duty of man. It is " native feeling, heightened, and im-" proved by principle. It is the heart, "which eafily relents; which feels for "every thing that is human; and is " backward and flow to inflict the leaft "wound. It is affable in its addrefs, " and mild in its demeanour; ever ready " to oblige, and willing to be obliged " by others; breathing habitual kindnefs " towards friends, courtefy to ftrangers, " long fuffering to enemies. It exer-" cifes authority with moderation; ad-" ministers reproof with tenderness; con-" fers favours with ease and modesty. It " is unaffuming in opinion, and tem-" perate in zeal. It contends not eagerly F 2 « about

" about trifles; flow to contradict, and " ftill flower to blame; but prompt to " allay diffention, and to reftore peace. "It neither intermeddles unneceffarily " with the affairs, nor pries inquifitively " into the fecrets, of others. It delights " above all things to alleviate diftrefs, " and, if it cannot dry up the falling "tear, to footh at least the grieving " heart. Where it has not the power of " being useful, it is never burdensome. " It feeks to pleafe, rather than to fhine " and dazzle; and conceals with care "that fuperiority, either of talents or " of rank, which is oppreffive to those "who are beneath it. In a word, it is " that spirit, and that tenour of manners, " which the Gospel of Christ enjoins, " when it commands us to bear one ano-" ther's burdens; to rejoice with those who " rejoice, and to weep with those who weep; " to please every one his neighbour for his " good; to be kind and tender-hearted; to ss be

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" be pitiful and courteous; to support the "weak, and to be patient towards all men."*

Sophron appeared to be much impreffed with this animated and ftriking picture of courtefy; but he fuggefted to Philocles, that amongft the inferior offices of focial life, he had not noticed the duties of counsel and REPROOF. Thefe, faid he, I fear, cannot be administered by a mind under the influence of gentlenefs, without the concealment, and fometimes, even the violation of truth.

The former part of your allegation, replied Philocles, may perhaps be granted; but the latter I cannot admit. Advice and reprehension require, indeed, the utmost delicacy; and painful truths should be delivered in the softest terms, and expressed no farther, than is necessary to produce their due effect. A courteous man will also mix what is conciliating,

* Blair's Sermons, Vol. I. p. 150.

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with

with what is offenfive; praife, with cenfure; deference and respect, with the authority of admonition, fo far as thefe can be done in confiftence with probity and honour. For the mind revolts against all cenforian power, which difplays pride or pleasure in finding fault; and is wounded by the bare fufpicion of fuch difgraceful tyranny. But advice, divested of the harshness, and yet retaining the honeft warmth, of truth, "is like honey, put round the brim of a vessel full of wormwood."* Even this vehicle, however, is fometimes infufficient to conceal the draught of bitterness; of which we are furnished with an admirable and diverting instance, in the history of Gil Blas. This young man became the favourite of the archbishop of Grenada; in whose family he enjoyed a lucrative and agreeable office; and future prospects of much higher preferment. The archbishop regarded him as a person of taste

* Memoirs of Brandenburgh, by the King of Pruffia.

and fentiment; and one day entered into the following conversation with him. "Liften, with attention, to what I am " going to deliver. My chief pleafure " confifts in preaching; the Lord gives " a blefling to my homilies; they touch " the hearts of finners; make them fe-" rioufly reflect on their conduct, and " have recourse to instant repentance. "This fuccess should alone be a suffi-" cient incitement to my studies : never-" thelefs, I will confefs to thee my weak-" nefs, and acknowledge, that I propofe " to myfelf another reward; a reward, " with which the delicacy of my nature " reproaches me in vain. The honour " of being reckoned a perfect orator, has " charmed my imagination : My per-" formances are thought equally nervous " and refined; but I am anxious to avoid " the misfortune of those who write too "long; and I wish to retire without " forfeiting one tittle of my reputation. "Wherefore, my dear Gil Blas, what I exact F4

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" I exact of thy zeal, is, that whenever thou fhalt perceive a failure in my genius, or the leaft mark of the imbecility of old age in my compositions, that thou wilt immediately advertife me of it. I dare not truft to my own judgment, which may be feduced by felf-love; but make choice of thine, becaufe I know it to be good, and am refolved to ftand by thy decifion."

Some time after this difcourfe, the prelate was feized with a fit of apoplexy. He was, however, foon relieved; and fuch falutary medicines were administered, that his health feemed to be re-established. But his understanding fuffered a fevere shock, which was plainly perceptible in the first homily that he composed. The fucceeding one proved perfectly decisive; as it abounded in repetitions, vain arguments, and false pathos. "Now," faid Gil Blas to himfelf, "master homily-"critic, prepare to exercise the office, "which

" which you have undertaken. You fee " that the faculties of his grace begin " to fail. It is your duty to give him " notice of it, not only as the depository " of his thoughts, but likewife, left you " should be anticipated by some other " of his friends." But the embarraffment was, how to convey the mortifying intimation to his patron. Fortunately, the archbishop extricated him from the difficulty, by inquiring, what people faid of him, and if they were fatisfied with his last discourse. Gil Blas answered, that the homily had not fucceeded fo well as the others, in affecting the audience. "How," replied the prelate, with aftonishment, "has it met with any Aristarchus?" " No, fir," faid Gil Blas, "by no means: " But fince you have laid your injunctions "upon me to be open and fincere, I " will take the liberty of telling you, " that your late discourse, in my judg-"ment, has not altogether the energy of "your prior performances." The archbishop

bishop grew pale at these words; and faid, with a forced smile, "So then, "Mr. Gil Blas, this piece is not to your " tafte ? You think my understanding " enfeebled, don't you?" " I should not have spoken so freely," answered Gil Blas, " if your grace had not com-" manded me. I do no more, therefore, "than obey you; and I most humbly " beg that you will not be offended at " my freedom." "God forbid," cried the prelate, with precipitation; "God " forbid, that I should find fault with it. " This would be extremely unjuft. I am " not angry, that you fpeak your fenti-"ments: it is the fentiment only that "I condemn. Know, that I never com-" pofed a better homily, than that, which " you difapprove; for my genius, thank "Heaven, hath yet loft nothing of its " vigour. Henceforth, however, I will " chuse an abler confidant than you are. "Go," added he, pushing Gil Blas out of his closet, by the shoulders; "go, " tell my treasurer to give you a hundred « ducats.

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" ducats. I wifh you all manner of " profperity, with a little more tafte."*

But we have enlarged fufficiently on this part of our fubject. Permit me, therefore, Sophron, to proceed, by inquiring, whether SECRECY, in certain cafes, be not a branch of faithfulnefs, or veracity?

It is a very important one, anfwered Sophron. To betray the confidence that is repofed in us, whether we have tacitly, or by a promife, bound ourfelves to fidelity, evinces a weak understanding, or a bad heart. Levity, an eagerness to communicate, or the defire of seeming to be important, are the most frequent causes of the breach of secrecy; but it is to be feared, that it seets originates from baseness and malevolence.

This offence was deemed infamous by the ancient Perfians. For it was

* Gil Blas, Vol. III.

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their opinion, fays Quintus Curtius, that however deficient a man might be in the talents, requifite to the attainment of excellency, the negative virtues were, at leaft, in his power; and that he might be filent, although he could not be eloquent.

Here Philocles judiciously remarked, that the laws of fecrecy are not, in all cases, to be regarded as inviolable; for we are under antecedent obligations, of a nature still more forcible and binding. If any atrocious defign, either against an individual or the state, be communicated in confidence to us, it is our duty to diffuade the party, if poffible, from the execution of it. But should our endeavours appear to be unavailing, the concealment of what we know, might involve us in the guilt of the offence; and we fhould be justly punishable, as acceffaries to the crime.* At Florence,

* See Appendix, Sect. IX.

and in other ftates of Italy, a man apprifed of a plot against the government, is put to death for not revealing it.* In England, *mi/prifion* of *treafon* is punished, by forfeiture of rents, and of goods, and by imprifonment during life: And *mi/prifion* of *felony*, by imprifonment for a difcretionary term, and by fine and ranfom, at the pleasure of the king's judges.[†]

If fuch *mifprisions* be really culpable, how comes it to pass, I asked, that informers are almost universally held in contempt and detestation?

Becaufe few villains, faid Philocles, will communicate their wicked defigns to any but thofe, whom they believe inclined to participate in the commission of them. Hence there is generally a prefumption of previous guilt in the

* Guiccardini's Hift.

+ Blackstone's Commentaries,

informer:

informer: And to this guilt, we fuperadd that of bafenefs and perfidy; as we are not willing to fuppofe that he is influenced to perform this public act, either by motives of private virtue, or of patriotifm. However, we fhould be careful not to carry our prepoffeffion againft informers, even of this clafs, too far. They do effential fervice to the community; and may, perhaps, think this fervice the beft atonement for their paft guilt, and the fulleft proof of their prefent repentance.

There is another branch of faithfulnefs, which it is alfo difhonourable to violate; and which lays us under an obligation to avoid TATTLING, TALE-BEARING, and CENSORIOUSNESS. In the unguarded hours of focial intercourfe, and ftill more in the commerce of domeftic life, the wifeft and the beft of men fpeak their thoughts without referve; and cafting off all reftraint, may fometimes deviate, both

both in their words and actions, from the rules of ftrict propriety. To relate fuch inadvertencies, is meannefs; to ridicule them, is ill nature; and to exaggerate them, is calumny.*

Sophron now turned our attention to a most important branch of moral Truth, by inquiring whether INSINCERITY in RELIGION may not be deemed a highly criminal species of lying?

Certainly it may, returned Philocles. GOD is a being of fpotlefs purity, who fearches the heart, and commands us to worfhip him "*in fpirit and in truth.*" "*Lying lips*," whether employed in falfe profeffions of faith or of piety, "*are an abomination to the Lord.*" And he who

 * Absentem qui rodit Amicum, Qui non defendit, alio culpante, solutos
 Qui captat risus bominum, famamque dicacis, Fingere qui non visa potest, commissa tacere
 Qui nequit; bic Niger est; bunc tu, Romane, caveto. Hor. Lib. 1, Sat. 4.

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can,

can, habitually, practife infincerity and hypocrify, in those ferious and important transactions with his Creator, Benefactor, and Judge, which have eternity for their object, is not likely to pay any steady regard to temporary interest, refulting from the laws of fociety, or the ordinary obligations of morality. When one of the kings of France folicited M. Bougier, who was a protestant, to conform to the Roman Catholic religion, promifing him, in return, a commission or a government, "Sire," replied he, " if I could be perfuaded to betray my "God for a marshal's staff, I might be " induced to betray my king for a bribe " of much lefs value."

It was a noble reply! cried Sophron, with ingenuous warmth; and the recital of it brings to my memory a ftory, which the duke of Sully has recorded of Ambrofe Parè, a zealous Huguenot, and furgeon to Charles the Ninth of France. He He was with the king, during the time. of the maffacre of Paris, when fo many thousand innocent and virtuous perfons were inhumanly butchered in cold blood; and was perhaps a witnefs of the monarch's firing with a carabine, upon the wretched Calvinists, who fled from their murderers by the windows of the palace. The courtiers, as they came into the royal prefence, vied with each other, in boafting of the barbarities which they had committed; and Charles faid to Parè, whofe religious opinions he well knew, "The time is now come, when " I shall have none but catholics in my " dominions." " Sire," answered he, without embarrassiment or perturbation, " can you forget your promife to me, " that I should never be obliged to go " to mass !" The duke of Sully feems to be of opinion, that the edict, which Charles iffued the fucceeding day, to prohibit the continuance of the massacre, was partly owing to the intrepidity and influence of Parè.

The conduct of Pare, faid Philocles, on fo trying an occasion, affords a striking proof of firmness and fincerity, in the profession of religious faith. But examples, of much higher degrees of fimilar fidelity, are to be found in the earlier annals of the Christian church. Nor are inftances wanting, even in the heathen world, of a zealous and fearlefs attachment to those rites, which ignorance deemed facred, and which individuals or bodies of men bound themfelves, by folemn engagements, to perform. When the Gauls were become mafters of Rome, they befieged the capitol; and clofely guarded every avenue, to prevent the efcape of a fingle Roman citizen. Under these circumstances of danger, Caius Fabius Dorfo, a young man of an illustrious family, descended from the capitol, bearing certain holy utenfils in his hands; and paffed through the midst of the enemy, regardless of their menaces, to offer a facrifice to the gods

gods on the hill Quirinalis. This facrifice, it was the custom of his ancestors to perform yearly, on a stated day; and when he had finished the folemnity, the Gauls, though a fierce and barbarous people, suffered him to return unmolested, admiring his piety, and astonished at his intrepidity.* Facts, like these, should make us blush at indifference, and abhor diffimulation in religion. But whilft we allow fuch impreffions to produce their full influence on our hearts, let us beware of passing judgment upon others, with rashness or unchristian severity. Intemperate zeal is apt to beget a malignancy of spirit, no less incompatible with the love of GoD, than with benevolence to man. The conviction of the mind, in matters of faith, often depends more upon education and authority, than on the exertions of reason: And if we see men professing to believe,

* Vid. Liv. Hift,

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what is unintelligible or abfurd, we fhould be well affured that they have not deceived themfelves, before we accufe them of mocking their Creator, and impofing on the world.

We may pity ignorance, and lament credulity; but hypocrify, urged Sophron, merits from us no indulgence: And this fpecies of falfhood is fo characteriftically marked, that it cannot be miftaken. Who, that obferves a man fanctified in his behaviour, and affiduous in his public devotions, whilft he is at the fame time felfifh, malevolent, bigoted, and oppreffive, will hefitate to charge him with the groffeft and moft infamous diffimulation ?

If there be fufficient proof, that this is really his temper of mind, I acknowledge, faid Philocles, that you may and ought to brand him with the name of hypocrite. But no man should be charged with

with a crime univerfally odious, on flight or equivocal evidence.* There is a fpecies of devotion, which, having its feat chiefly in the imagination and the passions, bears no exact proportion to the virtue of the character in which it is found: And charity, together with a humble fense of our own infirmities, will always lead us to put the most favourable conftruction on the conduct of our fellow creatures. We should remember alfo, that enthusiasim and superstition have often appeared, with the external marks of diffimulation. The famous lord Herbert, of Cherbury, had written an elaborate work against Christianity, which he intitled, De Veritate, prout distinguitur à Revelatione. But knowing that it would meet with much opposition, he remained some time in anxious suspence about the publication of it. Providence, however, as he informs us, kindly interposed,

* See Appendix, Sect. X.

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and determined his wavering refolutions. Hear the marvellous tale, which he relates !

"" Being thus doubtful in my chamber, " one fair day in the fummer, my cafe-"ment being opened towards the fouth, " the fun fhining clear, and no wind "ftirring, I took my book De Veritate " in my hand, and kneeling on my "knees, devoutly faid, O thou eternal "God, I am not satisfied enough whether I " shall publish this book; if it be for thy " glory, I beseech thee give me some sign from " heaven; if not, I shall suppress it. I had " no fooner spoken these words, but a "loud, though yet gentle noife, came " from the heavens, which did fo com-" fort and cheer me, that I took my " petition as granted, and that I had the " fign I demanded; whereupon alfo I " refolved to print my book." *

* See the Life of Lord Herbert, written by himself.

It must appear strange, that a man, who had spent a considerable part of his life in courts and camps, fhould poffefs fuch a deluded imagination. And this delufion will be still more fuspicious, when you are told, that lord Herbert's chief argument against Christianity is, the improbability that Heaven should reveal its laws only to a portion of the earth. For how could he, who doubted of a partial, believe an individual revelation? Or is it poffible, that he could have the vanity to think his book of fuch importance, as to extort a declaration of the Divine will, when the interest and happiness of a fourth part of mankind, were deemed, by him, objects inadequate to the like display of goodnefs?* Do thefe arguments convince you of lord Herbert's hypocrify? Your conclusion is hafty, and unjust. Read his life, and you will be fatisfied, that

* See Walpole's Cat, of Royal and Noble Authors.

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the warmth of his temper might expose him to felf-deception; but that he was incapable of obtruding on the world, what he knew to be a falfhood.

Sophron modeftly acknowledged, that the figns of religious diffimulation might be lefs decifive, than he had fuppofed. But allow me, said he, to contrast your instance of lord Herbert, with two facts concerning Oliver Cromwell; to shew that the charge of hypocrify may be justly grounded on fingle actions, without taking into our view the whole tenour of a man's life. Suppose a stranger, ignorant of the craftiness and ambition of Cromwell, to have been present in the long parliament, when the ordinance for the trial of Charles I. was read and affented to; would he have hefitated to think him an hypocrite, after hearing him deliver the following words? "Should any one have volun-" tarily proposed to bring the king to " punifh" punifhment, I fhould have regarded " him as the greateft traitor; but fince " Providence and neceffity have caft us " upon it, I will pray to GoD for a blef-" fing on your councils; though I am " not prepared to give you my advice " on this important occafion. Even I " myfelf, when I was lately offering up " a petition for his majefty's reftoration, " felt my tongue cleave to the roof of " my mouth; and confidered this fuper-" natural movement, as the anfwer which " Heaven, having rejected the king, " had fent to my fupplications."*

Let us further fuppofe, that this ftranger attended the high court of juftice, and faw Cromwell, when he took the pen in his hand, to fign the warrant for the king's execution, jocularly bedaub the face of his neighbour with the ink; could he forbear to express his difguft at the levity which he then ob-

* Whitlock,

ferved;

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ferved; and his abhorrence of the grofs diffimulation, to which he had been before a witnefs ?

You have drawn your example, replied Philocles, from that diftracted period of our hiftory, when truth appears to have been banifhed from public life. The defpotic views of a monarch, who was under the influence of a popifh queen, a bigoted prelate, and a corrupt ftatefman, led him to the practice of deceit and falfhood;* and the parties,

* Confult Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 22. Rufhworth, Vol. I. from p. 119 to 127. Hume's Hift. 4to. Vol. I. p. 103. Ed. 1754. "He had promifed to the laft houfe of commons a redrefs of "this religious grievance; but he was too apt, in imitation "of his father, to confider thefe promifes as temporary expedients, which after the diffolution of the parliament, he "was not any farther to regard." Id. p. 156. See alfo the Life of the Lord Keeper Williams, p. 143. Whitlock, p. 10. The Petition of Rights. Harris's Hift. Sidney's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 665, &c. Rapin fays, "Charles made frequent "ufe of mental refervations, concealed in ambiguous terms, "and general expressions, of which he referved the explica-"tion to a proper time and place. For this reason, the par-"liament could never confide in his promifes, wherein there

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who united in oppofing his encroachments on the civil and religious rights of the people, foon deviated from their original principles; and availing themfelves of the gloomy enthufiafm of the times, concealed their perfidy and ambition, under the mafk of pious zeal, and divine

" was always either some ambiguous term, or some restriction " that rendered them useles. This may be faid to be one of "the principal caufes of his ruin; becaufe giving thereby " occasion of distrust, it was not possible to find any expedi-"ent for a peace with the parliament. He was thought to " act with fo little fincerity in his engagements, that it was " believed there was no dependence on his word. The " parliament could not even refolve to debate on the king's " propositions, so convinced were they of his ability to hide " his real intentions, under ambiguous expressions." Rapin's Hift. Vol. 11 p. 570. The following passage is taken from the works of an hiftorian, who is acknowledged to have been very partial to king Charles. " Malè posita est lex, quæ " tumultuarie posita est, was one of those positions of Aristotle," fays he, "which hath never fince been contradicted; and " was an advantage, that, being well managed, and foutly " infifted upon, would, in spite of all their machinations, "which were not yet firmly and folidly formed, have brought " them to a temper of being treated with. But I have fome " caufe to believe, that even this argument, which was un-" answerable for the rejecting that bill, was applied for the " confirming it; and an opinion that the violence and force, " uled

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divine illuminations. That Cromwell was guilty of hypocrify, may with too much probability be inferred from numerous and undoubted facts. But I know not whether the two, which you have related, would have authorifed a ftranger to charge him publicly, with this reproachful offence. Cromwell pof-

" used in procuring it, rendered it absolutely invalid and void, "made the confirmation of it lefs confidered, as not being of "Arength to make that act good, which was in itfelf null. "And I doubt this logic had an influence upon other acts of "lefs moment." Clarendon's Hift. Vol. II. p. 30. Rapin makes the following observation on this passage. "Let the " reader judge after this, if we may boaft of king Charles's " fincerity, fince even in paffing acts of parliament, which " are the most authentic and folemn promises a king of "England can make, he gave his affent, merely in an " opinion, that they were void in themfelves, and confe-" quently he was not bound by this engagement." I have inferted these references and quotations, not merely to authenticate my charge against king Charles, but to shew, from his unhappy fate, how delusive, dangerous, and infamous, is the following political observation of Machiavel. "It has " appeared by experience, that those princes who have made "light of their word, and artfully deceived mankind, have " all along done great things, and have at length got the better " of fuch as proceeded upon honourable principles,"

feffed

fessed a vigorous, active, and enlarged understanding; and could affume, whenever he pleased, that dignity of manners, which befitted his high ftation. But when he relaxed himfelf from the toils of war, or the cares of government, his amusements frequently confisted in the lowest buffoonery. Yet in these apparently unguarded moments, he was upon the watch to remark the characters, defigns, and weakneffes of men; and to penetrate into the inmost recesses of their hearts. Before the trial of Charles, a meeting was held between the chiefs of the republican party and the general officers, to concert the model of the intended new government. After the debates on this most interesting and important fubject, Ludlow informs us, that Cromwell, by way of frolic, threw a cushion at his head; and when Ludlow took up another cushion to return the joke, the general ran down stairs, and

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was in danger of breaking his bones in the hurry.* It is evident, therefore, that this extraordinary man might really be ferious, under the appearance of levity. But this topic has engroffed too much of our attention: And I will only add, that the more we cultivate moral or religious fincerity in ourfelves, the lefs difpofed we fhall be to fufpect the want of it in others.

There is a character, faid Sophron, of genuine dignity and importance, not ufurped like that of Cromwell, the luftre of which has been tarnifhed by the charge of religious diffimulation. This charge, you know, is laid in the ftrongeft terms againft the apoftle Peter, by St. Paul himfelf, who writes thus to the Galatians: "But when Peter came to Antioch, I with-"ftood him to the face, becaufe he was to be "blamed. For before that certain came from

* Hume's Hift,

se Fames

"James, be did eat with the Gentiles; but when they were come, be withdrew, and Jeparated himfelf, fearing them which were of the circumcifion. And the other Jews diffembled likewife with him; infomuch that Barnabas was carried away with their diffimulation. But when I faw that they walked not uprightly, according to the Gofpel, I faid unto Peter before them all, If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?"

The conduct of Peter, on this occafion, is the more extraordinary, as he appears to have had the fullest conviction of the abolition of the Jewish ceremonies, by the promulgation of the Gospel of Christ:* A conviction, founded on an immediate revelation from heaven; in confequence of which he baptized the centurion Cornelius and his family.

* Acts, Chap. v. Ver. 7, 8.

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"And he faid unto them, Ye know how "that it is an unlawful thing for a man "that is a Jew, to keep company with, or come unto one of another nation; but God hath fhewed me, that I fhould not call any man common or unclean: For of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons: But in every nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him."*

The enemies of Chriftianity, anfwered Philocles, have indecently and unjuftly triumphed in this difpute between the apoftles: And its friends, with a zeal no lefs heated and erroneous, have anxioufly fought to difavow, or to evade it. Two primitive fathers + of the church, have even reprefented it as a ftratagem or deceit, concerted privately, for the benefit of the Jewifh converts: But Auftin rejects this defence with proper

* Acts, Chap. x.

+ Chryfoftom and Jerom.

indigna-

indignation, as dishonourable to the character of Paul, and inadequate to the justification of Peter, whose conduct he confesses to have been worthy of reprehenfion. The truth, indeed, feems to be, that this great apostle fuffered himfelf to be governed, on the unfortunate occafion now alluded to, as on feveral others of his life, by the warmth and impetuofity of his paffions. But diffimulation is not the concomitant of fuch a temper of mind: And as the hiftory of Peter fufficiently evinces, that this vice was foreign to his nature, it could originate only, in the present instance, from the fudden impression of fear on one, not yet completely difciplined in the school of fortitude. Let us learn, therefore, Sophron, from the feverity of St. Paul's rebuke, to avoid all mean prevarications, or time-ferving compliances, inconfistent with our religious principles; and " to walk uprightly, according to the " truth of the Gospel; holding fast the liberty, " with which Christ has made us free."

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May we remember alfo, in the judgments which we form, concerning the faith and practices of others, that our great Master and Lawgiver has invested them with the fame freedom, which we ourselves enjoy; and that if an apostle was not authorifed to impose a yoke on others, we can have no claim to prefide over conscience, however erroneous it may be, or to affume any power in fpiritual matters, but what arifes from the perfuafive influence of fuperior reafon : And even in the exercise of this faculty, our language and treatment should be fuch, as to manifest the benignity and gentleness of Christian toleration.

I could not hear the term *toleration* from the mouth of Philocles, without expressing fome objections to it, although it has been adopted by Mr. Locke, and other writers of the first distinction. For words, I observed, have a considerable influence

influence on opinions; and the present term appears to be injurious to that religious liberty, which it is defigned to import. It implies a right to impose articles of faith, and modes of worship; that non-conformity is a crime; and that the *sufferance* of it is a matter of favour or lenity. But the non-conformist in every country, whether he be a Chriftian at Constantinople, a Protestant at Rome, an Episcopalian in Scotland, or a Presbyterian in England, if his rational principles be confonant to his practice, will regard this claim of right as usurpation, and will urge, that it has neither been conferred by Jefus Chrift, nor delegated by the people. Our Saviour exprefsly declares, " My kingdom is not of this world :" And his religion was perfecuted and oppreffed, during the period of its greatest purity and perfection, and when the ministers of it had gifts and powers which are now unknown. The people could not delegate fuch a right

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to any man, or body of men: For the human mind is fo mutable, that no individual can fix a ftandard of his own faith, much lefs can he commiffion another to eftablifh one for him and his pofterity. And this power would in no hands be fo dangerous, as in those of the ftatesman or priest, who has the folly and prefumption to think himself qualified to exercise it.

Philocles, by his filence, feemed to acquiefce in what I had advanced: And when I apologifed, afterwards, for the interruption, which I had more than once occafioned, to the methodical difcuffion of the fubject in debate, he very politely replied, that the freedom of converfation admits not of a rigid adherence to the precife rules of fyftem. But were it otherwife, faid he, the mind is relieved from wearinefs, and animated to more attention, by feafonable digreffions, if not too long, or too often repeated. That

That I am not averse to enter into them. myfelf, you may already have observed, and will now find, by my recalling to Sophron's memory the difpute between the apostles Paul and Peter; and deducing from it an argument in favour of the truth of Christianity. It is obvious, I think, from this incident, that there was no combination to deceive mankind amongst the first preachers of the Gospel; and that if, on ordinary occasions, they were actuated by the common weakneffes and prejudices of human nature, they neither attempted to conceal, nor to extenuate them. With the fimplicity of truth, they related facts, as they occurred, whether advantageous or otherwife to their characters. And every unprejudiced judge will discover, in the records of the Gospel, such internal marks of fidelity, as no other hiftory, either of ancient or modern periods, can display. Juftly, therefore, may we apply to the writings of the Evangelists, that maxim

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of Cicero, " Quis nescit primam esse bistoriæ " legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat; deinde, " ne quid veri, non audeat?"*

---- A paufe enfued; and the conversation seemed to be concluded. But Sophron taking up Locke's Effay on the Human Understanding, which happened to lie on the table before him, read the diftinction which that author makes, between moral and metaphyfical truth. This fuggested fresh matter of discussion, and gave rife to a variety of observations, on the danger of error, and on the conduct of reason in our intellectual purfuits. Philocles particularly enlarged on the pernicious confequences of fupporting FALSE OPINIONS, for the fake of argument, in public or private disputations; and reprefented this practice as one great fource of fcepticism and infidelity, amongst literary men. + The ima-

> * Cicero de Oratore, Lib. II. † See Appendix, Sect. VI.

> > gination,

gination, faid he, is ftruck with novelty; it appears honourable to shake off the fetters of vulgar prejudice; and pride is doubly gratified, by the humiliation of an opponent, and the triumph over authority. Thus the paffions become engaged, on the fide which the fceptic espouses; sophistry is mistaken for found logic; he becomes enamoured of difcoveries, made by his fuperior penetration; and the fingularity of his notions, or principles, which would create doubt and hefitation in a wife man, tends only to strengthen his conviction of their certainty. Milton, describing the character of Belial, one of the fallen angels, fays in emphatic language,

----- " His tongue

Dropt manna, and could make the worfe appear
The better reafon, to perplex and dafh
Matureft counfels. "*

* Paradife Loft, Book II. L. 112.

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Does

Does not the philosopher's maxim, faid Sophron, "Nullius jurare in verba magistri," seem to recommend a strict scrutiny into every subject? And what more judicious method can be devised, of correcting our prejudices, in favour of any established opinion, than by setting ourselves, boldly, in opposition to it?

Would you free yourfelf, Sophron, from a trifling malady, by incurring a fevere and dangerous one; then, urged Philocles, you may correct a slight prejudice by adopting another that is greater! In our inquiries into truth, we ought to divest ourselves, as much as possible, of every prepossession. But it is furely a reasonable deference, to the judgment of the public, concerning any doctrine or opinion, that we should first examine, with attention, the arguments in its favour, before we admit the objections which may be raifed against it. And by this method the mind will

be least unfairly biassed in her decisions; and will reft on them, with a degree of confidence and fatisfaction, which can never refult from partial or prejudiced investigation. Young men of lively parts and acute understandings, when they enter upon the field of controverfy, are fometimes fo proud of their polemic skill, as to engage, indifcriminately, on any fide of the question in debate. This is a dangerous practice, and cenfured even by Socrates himfelf; whofe labours were devoted to the discussion of truth, and the detection of error. "If thou " continuest to take delight in idle argu-"mentation," faid he to Euclides, "thou "mayest be qualified to combat with "the fophifts, but wilt never know how " to live with men." And lord Bacon, the great luminary of science, appears to have entertained fimilar ideas : For, speaking of the logic of Aristotle, he terms it, " a philosophy for contention " only; but barren in the production « of

" of works, for the benefit of life." * Many lamentable proofs have I feen, of the tendency of this habit of altercation to create indifference, not only to intellectual, but also to moral and religious truth. Cato, the cenfor, prophefied the ruin of the Roman conftitution, whenever this fort of learning should become the fashionable study of his countrymen. He conceived his diflike to it on the following occasion. " In the year of Rome 599, the Athe-" nians sent three of their principal phi-" losophers, on an embasfy to the re-"public. At the head of these was « Carneades, a very celebrated leader " of the academic fect. While he was " waiting for an answer from the senate, " he employed himfelf in difplaying his " talents in the art of disputation: And " the Roman youth flocked round him, " in great numbers. In one of thefe " public discourses he attempted to

Biog. Brit. Vol. I. 2d Edit. p. 449.

« prove,

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" prove, that justice, and injustice, depend " altogether on the institutions of civil society, " and have no foundation in nature. The " next day, agreeably to the manner of " that fect, and in order to fet the argu-"ments on each fide of the question in "full view, he fupported with equal " eloquence, the reverse of his former " proposition. Cato was prefent at both "thefe difputations; and being appre-" henfive that the moral principles of " the Roman youth might be shaken, " if they should become converts to this " mode of philosophising, he was anxious " to prevent its reception; and did not "reft, till he had prevailed with the " fenate to difmifs the ambaffadors, with " their final anfwer." *

Perhaps the verfatile opinions and principles of the Jefuits may be afcribed to this caufe; for I have been informed by feveral of them, with whom I have

Plut, in Vit. Caton. Melmoth's Cato, p, 190.

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converfed, that their academical exercifes are chiefly directed to make them fubtle difputants. How far the fame obfervation may be applicable to the members of a learned profession, highly respected in this country, I will not presume to determine. But there is too much reason to apprehend, that the custom of pleading for any client, without difcrimination of right or wrong, must lessen the regard due to those important distinctions, and deaden the moral fensibility of the heart.*

I have been too ftrongly impreffed with the love of truth, replied Sophron, to debate with indifference about it; and therefore to guard against deception, from "what the nurse, and what the priest have taught," I would examine my most ferious opinions, and try whether I cannot, by direct opposition, or

* See Appendix, Sect. VII.

by the test of ridicule, invalidate their authority.

I have already given you my reasons against this practice; answered Philocles, and I could enforce them by many examples of the pernicious confequences of it, which have fallen under my obfervation. But private history is invidious; and I shall therefore confine myself to a few cases of public notoriety. The academy of Dijon, many years ago, proposed the following whimfical prize queftion, viz. "Whether the fciences may " not be deemed more hurtful, than " beneficial to fociety?" M. Rouffeau became a candidate for the laurel, and assumed the affirmative fide of the queftion; probably because it furnished him with a better opportunity of displaying his genius, and powers of perfuafion.*

Major est ille qui judicium abstulit, quam qui meruit. Cic.
 Nescio quomodo, dum lego assentior, cum posui librum, assensio
 manis illa elabitur. Idem.

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His discourse was received with the higheft applause; he became the dupe of his own rhetoric; and adopted as a philosopher, the maxims which he had delivered as an orator. From this period commenced his fame, his paradoxes, and his misfortunes.* He combated the common fense of mankind, with all the zeal of a reformer; and his writings proved like the bubble which glitters, expands, and burfts in the funshine: They were dazzling, empty, and foon forgotten. I am inclined to fufpect that Machiavel's Prince, the Fable of the Bees, and other productions of this nature, originated from caufes fomewhat fimilar to those which gave rife to the chimæras of Rouffeau. And it is faid that a celebrated adversary of Chriftianity, by yielding up his judgment and imagination to a particular fet of

* Helvetius.

arguments,

arguments, became fucceffively a protestant, a papist, and an infidel.*

But permit me, Sophron, to fuggest to you a caution of still higher importance, which regards fuch of your intellectual pursuits as relate to the Deity. Religion may be confidered both as a speculative science, and as a practical principle. In the former view, it constitutes the sublimest object of the understanding, and the most interesting topic of rational investigation. In the latter, it is a fpring of motion, and excites all the devout affections of veneration, gratitude, and love. When you contemplate, as a philosopher, the character of the Divine Being, you must be ftruck with reverence at the proofs, which offer themfelves, of his boundlefs power, universal presence, and infinite duration : And these attributes, reflect-

* See an account of Mr. Tindal, in the British Biography, Vol. 1X. p. 314.

ing dignity and lustre on the more amiable perfections of his nature, will heighten the impression made by the relation, which he stands in to you, as your Creator, Benefactor, and Friend. Thus the principle of piety will fubfift in your mind, in its full force; fupported by the authority of reason, and harmonifing with all the feelings of your heart. But if you descend, from these general and exalted views of the Divine Being, into minute disquisitions concerning his effence, the freedom of his agency, and other fubtleties beyond the human ken, you will foon damp the ardour of devotion in your breast: And should you make these inquiries the common matter of academical difputation, or of familiar debate, the facred flame will be extinguished altogether.* The poet, lately quoted, has described some of the fallen angels, who had been driven from

heaven

^{*} See Dr. Gregory's Comparative View; and Mrs. Barbauld on Devotional Tafte.

heaven for impiety and rebellion, as "fitting on a hill retired, and reafoning high"

Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,
Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge abfolute;
And found no end, in wand'ring mazes loft."*

I mean not, however, to condemn, indifcriminately, all metaphyfical refearches of this kind. It is natural for men of a speculative turn, to extend their views of theology beyond the clear limits either of reason, or of revelation: And if their inquiries be conducted with that humility and reverence, which fuch fubjects should inspire, they may tend to invigorate the understanding, without depraving the heart. The example of Locke, Newton, Clarke, Hartley, and other diftinguished philosophers, affords fufficient confirmation of this truth; and at the fame time evinces a still more pleafing and important one, that Religion numbers, amongst her votaries, men who have dignified and adorned

* Milton's Paradife Loft, B. II. p 550.

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human nature, by their genius, virtue, and learning. I would particularly recommend to your notice, Sophron, I need not fay to your imitation, the conduct of Mr. Boyle; who had fo profound a veneration for the Deity, that the name of God was never mentioned by him, without a pause in his discourse.* This great philosopher, also, had such delicate notions of veracity, and was fo fenfible of the imperfection of human knowledge, even when derived from experiment, that in the Preface to his Effays, he makes an apology for the frequent use of the words perhaps, it seems, 'tis not improbable, as implying a diffidence of the justness of his opinions: And this diffidence arofe, as he informs us, from repeated observation, that what pleased him for a while, was afterwards difgraced by fome further, or more recent discovery.

Here Philocles was interrupted by the arrival of a stranger; whose presence put an end to the conversation.

* British Biography, Vol. V. p. 248.

ON

ON THE

INFLUENCE

OF

HABIT AND ASSOCIATION.

----- VIRESQUE ACQUIRIT EUNDO.

VIRGIL.

---- ANGIT,

IRRITAT, MULCET, FALSIS TERRORIBUS

Hor. Ep. I. Lib. II.

MISCELLANEOUS

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE INFLUENCE OF

HABIT AND ASSOCIATION.

SECTION I.

THE laws of HABIT and ASSO-CIATION form a moft important branch both of phyfiology, and of ethics. And, as the proper ftudy of mankind is man, every fact must be deemed interesting, which tends to elucidate either the animal, intellectual, or moral œconomy of his nature. The following observations have a reference to one or other of these objects. But no particular regard has been paid to fystem in the I 3 arrangearrangement of them : And I have attempted only, as lord Verulam expreffes it, " to write certain brief notes, " fet down rather fignificantly, than " curioufly."

I. MUSCULAR ACTIONS, perfectly fpontaneous, may be excited without apparent volition, fo as to become completely automatic, by the recurrence of thofe imprefiions, with which they have been long affociated. I fhall give a ftriking example of the truth of this proposition.

Several years ago, the countefs of fell into an apoplexy, about feven o'clock in the morning. Amongft other ftimulating applications, I directed a feather, dipped in hartfhorn, to be frequently introduced into her noftrils. Her ladyfhip, when in health, was much addicted to the taking of fnuff; and the prefent irritation of the olfactory nerves produced

duced a junction of the fore-finger and thumb, of the right hand; the elevation of them to the nose; and the action of fnuffing in the noftrils. When the fnuffing ceafed, the hand and arm dropped down in a torpid state. A fresh application of the stimulus renewed these fucceffive efforts; and I was a witnefs to their repetition, till the hartshorn lost its power of irritation, probably by destroying the fensibility of the olfactory nerves. The countefs recovered from the fit, about fix o'clock in the evening; but, though it was neither long nor fevere, her memory never afterwards furnished the least trace of consciousness during its continuance.

Does not this inftance of a complex feries of actions, ordinarily fpontaneous, in circumftances which feem to preclude both volition and confcioufnefs, reflect fome light on the obfcure queftion, concerning the fleep of the foul, fo much I 4 agitated agitated in the time of Mr. Locke? Is not the opinion of this celebrated philofopher confirmed by it, that the perception or contemplation of ideas is to the mind, what motion is to the body, not its effence, but one of its operations: And that an unceafing energy of the underftanding and the will, is the fole prerogative of that infinitely perfect Being, who, according to the language of the Pfalmift, never flumbers or fleeps?

II. Slight PARALYTIC AFFECTIONS of the organs of fpeech, fometimes occur, without any correspondent diforder in other parts of the body. In fuch cases, the tongue appears to the patient too large for his mouth, the faliva flows more copiously than usual, and the vibratory power of the *glottis* is fomewhat impaired. Hence, the effort to speak fucceeds the volition of the mind, flowly and imperfectly; and the words are uttered with faultering and hesitation. These

These are facts of common notoriety: But I have never seen it remarked, that in this local palfy, the pronunciation of PROPER NAMES is attended with peculiar difficulty; and that the recollection of them becomes either very obscure, or entirely obliterated; whilft that of perfons, places, things, and even of abstract ideas, remains unchanged. Such a partial defect of memory, of which experience has furnished me with several examples, confirms the theory of affociation, and at the fame time admits of an eafy folution by it. For, as words are arbitrary marks, and owe their connection with what they import to established usage; the strength of this connection will be exactly proportioned to the frequency of their recurrence; and this recurrence must be much more frequent with generic, than with specific terms. Now, proper names are of the latter class; and the idea of a perfon or place may remain vivid in the mind, without the leaft fignature

fignature of the appellative, which diftinguifhes each of them. It is certain, alfo, that we often think in words; and there is, probably, at fuch times, fome flight impulfe on the organs of fpeech, analogous to what is perceived, when a mufical note or tune is called to mind. But a lefion of the power of utterance may break a link in the chain of affociation, and thus add to the partial defect of memory, now under confideration.

III. Dr. Willis relates the ftory of an IDEOT, who, refiding within the found of a clock, regularly amufed himfelf with counting aloud the hour of the day, whenever the hammer of that inftrument ftruck : But being afterwards removed to a fituation, where there was no clock, he ftill retained the former imprefions fo ftrongly, that he continued to diftinguish the ordinary divisions of time, repeating at the end of every hour, the precife number of ftrokes, which the clock

clock would have ftruck at that period.* Mr. Addifon has quoted this fact, in one of the Spectators, not from the original, but from Dr. Plott's Hiftory of Staffordfhire; and has deduced from it many important moral reflections. Whatever may be thought of the authenticity of this narrative, an inftance has lately occurred, within the circle of my own obfervation, fomewhat fimilar, and which no lefs clearly evinces the power of habit to renew former mechanical impreffions, independently of any external caufe.

Mr. W—— had been long confined to his chamber, by a palfy, and other ailments. Every evening, about fix o'clock, he played at cards with fome of the family. He was feized, in June 1780, at three o'clock in the afternoon, with a fit, which terminated in defipiency. At the ftated hour of card

* Willis De Anima Brutor. Pars I. Cap. xvi. pag. 85.

playing,

playing, he fancied himfelf to be engaged in his ufual game; talked of the cards, as if they were in his hand; and was very angry at his daughter, when fhe endeavoured to rectify his miftaken imagination. His fatuity was of fhort continuance; but when recovered from it, he expressed no recollection of what had passed.

IV. A celebrated French writer has remarked, that "the greater degree of "fagacity any one is mafter of, the more "ORIGINALS will he difcover in the "characters of mankind."* This originality may doubtlefs depend on the primary conftitution of the mind; but I am perfuaded alfo, that it is often the refult of particular affociations. When thefe are unnatural or inordinate, they produce partial alienations of the underftanding: And to this fource we may trace the vifions of enthufiafm, the perfe-

* Pafchal.

cuting

cuting zeal of bigotry, the fanguinary honour of duelling, the fordid pursuits of avarice, and the toilfome folicitudes of ill-directed ambition. These and numberless other quixotisms of the mind give the phantoms of imagination an ascendancy over reason, and produce a temporary infanity, varying according to its object, degree, and duration. If the predominant train of ideas be foreign to the offices of life, there will be little chance of breaking the magic combination; and the habitual indulgence of this tyranny of paffion, or fancy, will, at last, render it fixed and uncontrolable.

The lunatic, the lover, and the poet, Are of imagination all compact. One fees more devils than vaft hell can hold, That is the madman: The lover, all as frantic, Sees Helen's beauty on a brow of Egypt: The poet's eye, in a fine phrenzy rolling, Doth glance from heaven to earth, from carth to heaven;

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And as imagination bodies forth The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen Turns them to fhapes, and gives to airy nothing A local habitation and a name.

SHAKESPEAR.

But, as Horatio fays to Hamlet, " perhaps it may be reafoning too curiously, to reason thus." At least, we should reftrict our conclusions, that they may not involve fo large a portion of mankind, as to injure the honour even of human nature itself. Besides, passion is the fpring of the mind, which gives vigour and energy to all its movements : And, if not extravagantly difproportionate to the value of its object, it may be indulged, not only with innocence, but fometimes even with fingular advantage. For, the ardour infpired by it is the fource of all that is excellent in genius, and fublime in conduct: And without the falutary aid of this species of enthusiasim, we should fink into a state of torpid apathy.

But, though it be difficult to define the precise boundaries of rationality, it can neither be denied, nor concealed, that partial infanity may fubfift with general intelligence; of which the affecting cafe of Mr. Simon Browne affords a curious example. He was a diffenting clergyman, of exemplary life, and eminent intellectual abilities; but having been feized with melancholy, he defifted from the duties of his function, and could not be perfuaded to join in any act, either of public or of private worship. The reason which, after much importunity, he affigned, for this change in his conduct, was, " that he had fallen " under the difpleasure of God, who " had caufed his rational foul gradually " to perish, and left him only an ani-" mal life, in common with brutes : " that it was therefore profane in him " to pray, and improper to be prefent "at the prayers of others." In this opinion

opinion he remained inflexible, at the time when all the powers of his mind feemed to sublist in full vigour; when his judgment was clear, and his reafoning ftrong and conclusive. For at this period he published a defence of the Religion of Nature, and of the Chriftian Revelation, in answer to Tindal's Christianity as old as the Creation : and the work is univerfally allowed to be the best, which that celebrated controversy produced. But in a dedication of it to queen Caroline, which fome of his friends found means to fupprefs, he difplays the very extraordinary phrenzy, under which he laboured. Speaking of himfelf, he informs her majesty, " that " by the immediate hand of an aveng-" ing God, his very thinking fubstance " has, for more than feven years, been " continually wafting away, till it is " wholly perished out of him, if it be " not utterly come to nothing."

This

This remarkable, and humiliating example of vigour and imbecility, rectitude and perversion of the fame understanding, I have related on the authority of Dr. Hawkefworth,* who has preferved the entire copy of the dedication, from which only a brief extract is here made. Our ignorance of the hiftory of Mr. Browne renders it impossible to trace, to its fource, this mental malady. But there is reason to presume, that it originated from some strong impression, and fubsequent invincible affociation, connected with, or perhaps producing a change in the organization of the brain. Perhaps, after having acquired an early predilection for the writings of Plato, he might afterwards, in some feason of hypochondriacal dejection, fall into the gloomy mysticism of the later followers of that amiable philosopher: For Plotinus, who flourished in the third century

* See the Adventurer,

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after the Christian æra, taught that the most perfect worship of the Deity consists, not in acts of veneration, or of gratitude, but in a certain felf-annihilation, or total extinction of the intellectual faculties.*

I am inclined to believe, that the celebrated M. Paschal laboured under a fpecies of infanity, towards the conclusion of his life, fimilar to that of Mr. Simon Browne. And, having hazarded fuch a furmife, it is incumbent on me to fhew, on what it is founded. This very extraordinary man difcovered the most aftonishing marks of genius in his childhood; and his progrefs in fcience was fo rapid, that at the age of fixteen, he wrote an excellent treatife of Conic Sections. He possefied fuch a capacious and retentive memory, that he is faid " never to have forgotten any thing which

* See Collier's Hift. Dict. Alfo Maclaurin's Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Discoveries, page 397.

he had learned." And it was his practice, to digeft and arrange in his mind, a whole feries of reflections, before he committed them to writing. This power was at once fo accurate and extensive, that he has been heard to deliver the entire plan of a work, of which he had taken no notes, in a continued narration, that occupied feveral hours. But it is related, by the editor of his Thoughts on Religion and other Subjects,* " that it pleafed God fo to touch his " heart, as to let him perfectly under-"ftand, that the Christian religion " obligeth us to live for God only, and " to propose to ourselves no other " object." In confequence of this perfuafion, he renounced all the purfuits of knowledge, and practifed the most fevere and rigorous mortifications; living in the greatest penury, and refusing every indulgence, which was not abfolutely

* See the Preface to that work.

K 2

neceffary

neceffary for the fupport of life. It appears from fome of his pious meditations, that this refolution of mind proceeded from the vifitation of ficknefs. And the following folemn addreffes to the Deity clearly indicate an imagination perverted by the most erroneous affociations.

" O LORD, thou gavest me health to " be fpent in ferving thee, and I applied " it to an use altogether profane. Now " thou haft fent fickness for my correc-"tion.-I know, O LORD, that at the " inftant of my death, I shall find my-" felf entirely feparated from the world, " stripped naked of all things, standing " alone before thee, to answer to thy " justice concerning all the motions of "my thoughts, and fpirits. Grant that " I may look on myfelf as dead already, " separated from the world, stripped of " all the objects of my paffion, and " placed alone in thy prefence.--I praife c thee,

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"thee, O God, that thou haft been "pleased to anticipate the dreadful day, " by already deftroying all things to my "tafte and thoughts, under this weak-" nefs, which I fuffer from thy provi-" dence. I praise thee, that thou hast " given me this divorce from the plea-"fures of the world." Was it confonant with foundness of understanding, for a man to take a fudden difgust at all the liberal studies, and innocent enjoyments, which had before engaged and gratified his mind? And was it not as much the fiction of a diftempered fancy, that GOD enjoined poverty, abstinence, and ignorance, to one possessing rank, fortune, and the nobleft endowments of the mind, as the belief of Simon Browne, that he was divested of that rationality, which at the fame time he fo eminently difplayed? Whenever false ideas, of a practical kind, are fo firmly united, as to be conftantly, and invariably mistaken for truths, we

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K 3

ON HABIT,

very juftly denominate this unnatural alliance INSANITY. And, if it give rife to a train of fubordinate wrong affociations, producing incongruity of behaviour, incapacity for the common duties of life, or unconfcious deviations from morality and religion, MADNESS has then its commencement.

In the foregoing examples, the force of habit and affociation is clearly manifest. And man, whilst under the influence of their authority, however defpotic or perverted, still retains a capacity for action and enjoyment, though he ceases to be a rational or moral agent. But the suspension of their operation ftops at once all the movements of the mind, and feems to annihilate every energy of the understanding, the affections, and the will. On the 25th of October 1778, a sea-faring person, about forty years of age, was recommended as a patient to the LUNATIC ASYLUM in York.

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York.* During his abode in the hofpital, he was never observed to express any defire for fustenance, or to shew any preference of it to his medicines. The first fix weeks after his admission, he was fed in the manner of an infant. A fervant undreffed him at night, and dreffed him in the morning; after which, he was conducted to his feat in the common parlour, where he remained all day, with his body bent, and his eyes fixed upon the ground. Every thing was indifferent to him, and he was regarded by all about him, as an animal converted nearly into a vegetable. In this state of infensibility he remained five years and fix months. But, on the 14th of May 1782, on his entrance into the parlour, he faluted the convalescents with the words Good morrow to you all. He then thanked the fervants of the house, in the most affectionate

* This cafe was lately transmitted to me, by my friend Dr. Hunter of York, to be communicated to the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester. I have given only an abridgment of it. K 4

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manner, for their tenderness to him, of which he had begun to be fenfible fome weeks before, but till then, had not refolution to express his gratitude. A few days after this unexpected recovery, he was permitted to write a letter to his wife, in which he expressed himself with becoming propriety. At this time, he feemed to take peculiar pleafure in the enjoyment of the open air, and in his walks converfed with freedom and ferenity. On making enquiry concerning what he felt, during the fuspension of his intellectual and fenfitive powers, he replied, that his mind had been totally lost; but that, about two months before his full reftoration to himfelf, he began to have thoughts and fenfations, which, at first, ferved only to excite in him fears and apprehensions, especially in the night-time. On the 28th of May 1782, he returned to his family; and has now the command of a ship employed in the Baltic trade.

SECTION

SECTION II.

I. IT is highly inftructive, as well as curious, to contemplate the progrefsive influence of particular affociations on the affections and the judgment, as they gradually acquire the force of habit by time, and vividness by frequent renewal. Dr. Swift, in a letter to lord Bolingbroke, dated 1729, expresses himfelf in the following terms. " I remem-" ber, when I was a little boy, I felt "a great fish at the end of my line, " which I drew up almost on the ground, " but it dropt in, and the difappointment " vexes me to this very day, and, I be-" lieve, it was the type of all my future " difappointments."

This little incident, perhaps, gave the first wrong bias to a mind, predisposed

to fuch impreffions; and by operating with fo much ftrength and permanency, it might poffibly lay the foundation of the Dean's subsequent peevishness, passion, mifanthropy, and final infanity. The quickness of his sensibility furnished a fting to the flightest disappointment; and pride festered those wounds, which selfgovernment would inftantly have healed. As children couple hobgoblins with darkness, every contradiction of his humour, every obstacle to his preferment, was, by him, affociated with ideas of malignity and evil. By degrees, he acquired a contempt of human nature, and a hatred of mankind, which, at laft, terminated in the total abolition of his rational faculties.

This is no exaggerated picture, and we have the Dean's own authority for its accuracy. "The chief end," fays he, in a letter to Mr. Pope, "I propose to "myself in all my labours, is to vex "the world, rather than divert it; and, "if

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" if I could compass that defign, without "hurting my own person or fortune, I " would be the most indefatigable writer " you have ever feen. I have ever hated " all nations, professions, and communi-"ties; and all my love is towards indi-"viduals. For instance, I hate the tribe " of lawyers, but I love Counfellor fuch " a one, and Judge fuch a one : 'Tis fo " with phyficians, (I will not fpeak of my "own trade) foldiers, English, Scotch, "French, and the reft. But principally " I hate and deteft that animal called "man, although I heartily love John, "Peter, Thomas, and fo forth. This is " the fyftem upon which I have governed "myfelf many years, (but do not tell) " and fo I shall go on, till I have done " with them."*

This letter is not written in a ftrain, which will fuffer the most indulgent

* Pope's Works, Vol. IX. Lett. 2.

critic

critic to afcribe it to jocularity. And in the epitaph, which the Dean composed for himfelf long afterwards, and which is infcribed on his monument in the cathedral of St. Patrick's, he has left a folemn, and decifive memorial of his mifanthropy.

> HIC DEPOSITUM EST CORPUS JONATHAN SWIFT, S.T.P. UBI SÆVA INDIGNATIO ULTERIUS COR LACERARE NEQUIT, &c.

The ftrongeft tint, in the complexion of the human character, may be fometimes formed by a circumftance, or event apparently cafual; which, by forcibly impreffing the mind, produces a lafting affociation, that gives an uniform direction to the efforts of the underftanding, and the feelings of the heart.

Dr. Conyers Middleton, one of the most learned, various, and elegant writers

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ters of the prefent age, is faid to have been much more addicted, in the early part of his life, to mufic, than to fcience. But he was roufed from his favourite amufement, and ftimulated to the clofeft application to ftudy, by a farcafm of his rival and enemy, the celebrated Dr. Bentley, who ftigmatized him with the name of fidler. * And indignation made him eager to convince the Doctor and the world, that he could write as well as *fiddle*; a conviction, of which his opponent had, afterwards, the moft painful experience.[†]

The author of the Night Thoughts, a poem which contains the tendereft touches of nature and paffion, and the fublimeft truths of morality and religion, intermixed with frivolous conceits, turgid obfcurities, and gloomy views of human life, wrote that work under the

* Gent. Mag. 1773, page 387.

+ Brit, Biograph. Vol. 1X.

recent

recent preffure of forrow, for the lofs of his wife, and of a fon and daughter-inlaw, whom he loved with paternal tendernefs. Thefe feveral events happened within the fhort period of three months, as appears from the following apoftrophe to death.

Infatiate archer! could not *one* fuffice? Thy fhaft flew *thrice*; and *thrice* my peace was flain; And *thrice*, e'er *thrice* yon moon had fill'd her horns.*

But, though time alleviated this diffrefs, his mind acquired from it a tincture of melancholy, which continued through life; and caft a fable hue even on his very amufements. The like difpofition, alfo, difcovered itfelf in his rural improvements. He had an alcove in his garden, fo painted as to feem, at a diftance, furnifhed with a bench or feat, which invited to repofe; and when, upon

* Night Thoughts.

a nearer

14:2

a nearer approach, the deception was perceived, this motto at the fame time prefented itfelf to the eye,

Invisibilia non decipiunt.

The things unfeen do not deceive us.*

The following witty allufion bears the marks of a fimilar turn of thought. The Doctor paid a vifit to Archbifhop Potter's fon, then Rector of Chiddingftone, near Tunbridge. This gentleman lived in a country, where the roads were deep and miry; and when Dr. Young, after fome danger and difficulty, arrived at his houfe, he enquired, "Whofe field is that which I have croffed?" "It is mine," anfwered his friend. "True," faid the Poet, "Potter's field, to bury ftrangers in."[†]

* Brit. Biograph. Vol. IX.

+ Vid. Gent. Mag. July 1781, page 319.

II. It

ON HABIT,

II. It is a very important office of education to guard the understanding against the union of ideas, which have no natural or proper connection. Yet this object is lefs attended to than any other; and we often find men diftinguished for genius, erudition, and even ftrength of mind, warped by the false conceptions, and governed by the prejudices of puerility. Creduloufness is the concomitant of the first stages of life; and is indeed the principle on which all instruction must be founded : But it lays the mind open to impressions of error, as well as of truth: And, when fuffered to combine itself with that passion for the marvellous, which all children difcover, it fosters the rankest weeds of chimera and fuperstition; rooting firmly in the mind, all that the nurse, and all the priest have taught. Hence, the awful folemnity of darkness visible, and of what the Poet has denominated a dim religious light; together with the terrors of evil omens,

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omens, of haunted places, and of ghaftly fpectres. The energy and beauty of the following lines depend on the univerfal prevalence of thefe early acquired ideas.

I am thy father's spirit;

Doom'd for a certain term to walk the night, And for the day confin'd to faft in fires; Till the foul crimes, done in my days of nature, Are burnt and purg'd away. But, that I am forbid To tell the fecrets of my prifon houfe, I could a tale unfold, whofe lighteft word Would harrow up thy foul, freeze thy young blood,

Make thy two eyes, like stars, start from their fpheres,

Thy knotty and combined locks to part, And each particular hair to fland on end, Like quills upon the fretful porcupine: But this eternal blazon must not be To ears of sless and blood.*

History presents us with few characters fuperior to those of Henry the fourth, of France, and his prime minister the duke

* Shakefpear's Hamlet.

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ON HABIT,

of Sully. But notwithstanding the wifdom, knowledge, and difcernment of thefe great men, they appear, on feveral occafions, to have been actuated, by their juvenile affociations, in favour of aftrology. What can be more foreign to the events of human life; what lefs adapted to excite fear or hope in the mind of an intelligent man, than the afpect of a distant star, or the variegated lines of his hand? Yet Sully confesses, that an early prepoffession had made him weak enough to give credit to predictions, derived from this fanciful origin. And . though he informs us that the king, his master, was of opinion, religion ought to infpire a contempt of fuch prophecies, the conversation which he relates, st the fame time, evidently betrays Henry's confidence in them. This matter is put beyond difpute by an incident, which occurred soon after the birth of the Dauphin; the particulars of which I fhall

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AND ASSOCIATION. 147 shall recite, from the memoirs of this excellent writer.

* " La Riviere was the king's firft phy-" fician, a man who had little more " religion than thofe generally poffefs, " who blend it with judicial aftrology. " Henry already felt a tendernefs for " his fon, which filled him with an " eager anxiety to know his fate : And " having heard that La Riviere fuc-" ceeded wonderfully in his predictions, " he commanded him to calculate the " Dauphin's nativity, with all the cere-

* It fhould feem that aftrology was confidered, formerly, as an effential part of the learning of a phyfician; for Chaucer. in the prologue to his Canterbury tales, has thus characterifed him.

> With us there was a doctor of phyfik, In al the worlde was ther non hym lyk, To fpeke of phyfik and of furgerye; For he was groundit in aftronomy. He kept his pacient a ful gret del In hourys by his magyk naturel; Wel couth he fortunen the afcendent Of his ymagys for his pacient.

L 2

monials

" monials of art. To aid this business, " he had carefully fought for the most " accurate watch, which could be pro-" cured; that the precise moment of "the prince's birth might be exactly " ascertained. About a fortnight after-" wards, the king and Sully being alone " together, their conversation turned " upon the prediction of the aftrologer, " La Brosse, concerning his majesty. " This renewed Henry's folicitude, with " refpect to his fon; and he ordered " La Riviere to be called. ' Monfieur "La Riviere,' faid the king, ' what " have you discovered, relative to the "Dauphin's deftiny.' 'I had begun my " calculations,' replied Riviere, ' but " I left them unfinished, not caring to " amufe myfelf any longer with a fcience, " which I have always believed to be, " in fome degree, criminal.' The king, " diffatisfied with this answer, com-"manded his phyfician to fpeak freely, " and without concealment, on pain of cc his

" his displeasure. La Riviere suffered " himself to be pressed still longer; but " at last, with an air of apparent dif-" content, he delivered himfelf in the " following terms. ' Sire, your fon will " complete the common period of human "life, and will reign longer than you " shall do: But his turn of mind will " be widely different from yours; he " will be obstinate in opinion, often " governed by his own whims, and " fometimes by those of others. Under " his administration it will be fafer to "think, than to fpeak. Impending "ruin threatens your former fociety. "He will perform great exploits, be " fortunate in his defigns, and make a " diftinguished figure in Europe. There " will be a vicifitude of peace and war " in his time. He will have children, " and after his death affairs will grow "worfe and worfe. This is all you " can know from me,' concluded La "Riviere, 'and more than I had re-" folved L 3

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" folved to tell you.' His majefty, and the duke of Sully, remained a long time together, making reflections on the words of the aftrologer, which left a ftrong impreffion on the mind of the king."

III. LUDICROUS ASSOCIATIONS, not founded in truth or nature, are peculiarly unfavourable to the principles and practice of virtue and religion. Reafon, efpecially during the period of youth, affords but a feeble barrier against the attacks of ridicule; and the mind that is enflaved by its influence, may be fo far deluded or depraved, as to lose the fufceptibility of good impressions, or to contemplate the most amiable moral affections with derifion, son and even difgust.

By frontlefs laughter, and the hardy fcorn Of old, unfeeling vice, the abject foul With blufhes half refigns the candid praife

Of

Of temperance, and honour; half difowns A free man's hatred of tyrannic pride; And hears with fickly finiles the venal mouth, With fouleft licence, mock the patriot's name.*

The celebrated Dr. Pitcairn was no less diftinguished for wit than learning. It is recorded, that, as he paffed one day along the ftreets, he beheld the affecting fpectacle of a mason, killed by the fall, and buried in the ruins, of a chimney, which he had just completed. "Bleffed are the dead, who die in the Lord," faid he, " for they reft from their labours, and their works follow them." Such a humourous conjunction of refembling yet incongruous ideas, probably stifled, in his breaft, the fentiments of compassion. And I have been informed by a very humane friend, that on the relation of a melancholy event, fimilar in its circumstances, the recollection of this ludicrous remark fubstituted, in his mind,

* Akenfide's Pleafures of Imagination, Book III.

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emotions

emotions of laughter, for those of commiseration.

The natural propenfity of Dean Swift led him to the indulgence of this fpecies of drollery, very much to the prejudice of every finer feeling of the heart. In one of his letters, he laments the mortal illnefs of his amiable friend Arbuthnot; but mixes, with his expressions of forrow, certain whimfical reflections, which convert his mourning into grimace. "There is a paffage in Bede," fays he to Mr. Pope, " highly commending the piety " and learning of the Irifh, in that age; " where, after abundance of praises, he " overthrows them all, by lamenting, " that, alas ! they kept Eafter at a wrong " time of the year. So our Doctor has " every quality and virtue, that can make "a man amiable or useful; but, alas! " he hath a fort of flouch in his walk. I " pray God protect him, for he is an " excellent

AND ASSOCIATION. 153 " excellent Christian, though not a ca-" tholic." *

When the mind has been long habituated to the affemblage of ludicrous ideas, they recur on very improper occasions, not only spontaneously, but even in despite of every effort of the judgment and the will. In this state, elevation of thought, and dignity of character, are unattainable; and feriousness, when affumed, is always marked with fome glaring and rifible inconfiftency. Swift, in his last testament, bequeaths three old hats, and other still more trifling and abfurd legacies, with farcical folemnity; and the celebrated Hogarth could not help difplaying traits of humour, in his gravest historical paintings. I have heard it remarked by one, who was fometimes the companion of his walks, that he would interrupt the most interesting conversation, to laugh at any oddity,

* Pope's Works, Vol. IX. Lett. II.

which

which prefented itfelf; and that his eyes were constantly cast about, in search of objects fingular and diverting. When a man, of this turn, applies himfelf to books, it is not instruction or rational criticism, but hilarity, that is his pursuit: And he finds food for his prevailing appetite, equally palatable, both in the beauties and the blemishes of his author. For Tully has well obferved, that the verbum ardens, the glowing boldnefs of expression, which sublimity of sentiment infpires, may be eafily rendered ludicrous, by an illiberal paraphrafe. Even entire productions, of fome of the beft writers, have been thus mifreprefented and deformed, for the purpose of merriment, under the title of travesties. And the bulk of mankind are readily deceived into the belief, that what gives rife to laughter is in itself ridiculous. For this reafon, a reader of fenfibility, who has the interest of virtue and religion at heart, will peruse, with pain and difgust, the Meditations

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Meditations on a Broom-stick, written according to the stile and manner of the Honourable Robert Boyle.* "To what a " height," fays lord Orrery, " must the " fpirit of farcasim arise in an author, "who could prevail upon himfelf to "ridicule fuch a man as Mr. Boyle! "But the fword of wit, like the fcythe " of time, cuts down friend and foe, and " attacks every thing that accidentally " lies in its way." It must be confessed, however, that this great and good philofopher has indulged, in his theological writings, certain conceits, which will draw a smile from his warmest admirers. A zeal to promote the habit of pious and moral reflections has, fometimes, tempted him to force ideas into the most unnatural alliance; and to deduce very important analogies, from objects or circumstances, not only incongruous, but low and contemptible. Thus, from the

* Swift's Works, Vol. V. p. 372.

ftumbling

stumbling of a horse, in a good road, he infers the danger of prosperity; from being let blood in a fever, he justifies the wifdom of the Deity, in depriving his creatures of spiritual superfluities; and from a distaste of the syrups, prefcribed by his phyfician, he concludes, that the good things of life are not objects of envy, because not always relished as enjoyments. But I feel a reluctance to point out fuch trivial exuberances, in the works of Mr. Boyle. It is ungenerous to injure the well earned wreath of laurel, which he wears, by fastidiously culling a few folitary leaves, that are withered. We fhould remember alfo, that dignity and meannefs, grace and vulgarity, have, in many inftances, no fixed standard; and are dependent on certain acceffory affociations, which vary in different countries, at different periods of time, and with different perfons even of the fame age and place. Jacob is represented, in the holy Scriptures, as calling

calling his fons together, before his death, to deliver to each of them his benediction. And in the language of metaphor and prophecy, he fays, Islachar is a strong als, couching down between two burdens: From which it appears, that this animal was not then regarded as a fymbol of ftupidity and infignificance. Ajax, retreating between two armies, is compared, by Homer, to the lion for undaunted courage, and to the afs for fullen and unyielding flownefs.* But Mr. Pope, in his tranflation, has omitted the latter allufion, to accommodate his work to the state of modern opinion. The fame fublime poet exhibits the awful uncertainty of victory, in the engagement between the Greeks and Trojans, by the image of a poor woman, weighing wool in a pair of fcales. And Eustathius fays, it was a tradition, that Homer derived this fimile from the occupation of his mother, who main-

* II. Lib. XI.

tained

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tained herfelf by fuch manual labour.* But a ftill more remarkable comparison occurs, in the writings of this ancient bard. For Ulyffes, toffing about through the whole night, with reftless anxiety, is likened to a fat pudding, frying on the fire. † Even Virgil, whose elegance and correctness are universally acknowledged, has drawn the fimilitude of a queen (Amata the wife of king Latinus) under the violence of passion, from a company of boys whipping a top. ‡

I do not recollect one coarfe allufion, or low image in the whole poem of *Paradife Loft*; though feveral, contained in it, are fantaftical, being derived from the fictions of heathen mythology. But it is more than probable that Milton, when tranflated by foreigners, will not appear to deferve the character of un-

* See the Notes of Dacier, Pope, and other Commentators.
† Od. Lib. XXI.
‡ Æn. Lib. VII.

deviating

AND ASSOCIATION. 159

deviating dignity. For the correspondent terms, in other languages, may have secondary ideas of meanness affixed to them, from which, in the original, they are exempt. The same remark is applicable to other works; and it is particularly to be wished, that the books of the Old and New Testament, in the common version, were always perused with a candid attention to it.

I have been told of a picture, which exhibits a burlefque view of the tablature, reprefenting the judgment of Hercules. The young Hero is painted as a tall grenadier, Virtue as a methodift preacher, and Pleafure as a drunken ftrumpet. The parody, if this term can be applied to painting, may anfwer the purpofe of exciting laughter, but will counteract, in the fpectator's mind, all the beneficial effects of the moft inftructive and philofophical apologue of antiquity.

Discit

ON HABIT,

Discit enim citius, meminitque libentius illud Quod quis deridet, quam quod probat et veneratur. Hor.

PARODY is a favourite flower both of ancient and of modern literature.* It is a fpecies of ludicrous composition, which derives its wit from affociation; and never fails to produce admiration and delight, when it unites tafte in felection, with felicity of application. Even licentious fpecimens of it move to laughter; for we are always inclined to be diverted with mimickry, or ridiculous imitation, whether the original be an object of respect, of indifference, or of contempt. A polished Athenian audience heard, with burfts of mirthful applause, the discourses of the venerable Socrates, burlesqued upon the stage; and no Englishman can read the Rehearfal without finiling at the medley of borrowed absurdities, which it exhibits.

* See Diog. Laertius, Lucian. Dialog. Boileau, Cervantes, Butler, Swift, &c. &c. Mr.

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Mr. Pope's Dunciad, and Rape of the Lock abound with the most admirable parodies; but fome of them may appear, to a religious mind, chargeable with levity and profanenes. I shall quote an example, both of the excellent and exceptionable; as the beauty of the one, and the fault of the other, equally relate to the subject of the prefent effay.

When the fatal rape was committed by the Baron, on Belinda's Lock, fhe is reprefented as attempting to revenge herfelf by her bodkin.

Now meet thy fate, incens'd Belinda cry'd, And drew a deadly bodkin from her fide. The fame, his ancient perfonage to deck, Her great great grandfire wore about his neck, In three feal rings; which after, melted down, Formed a vaft buckle for his widow's gown : Her infant grandame's whiftle next it grew, The bells fhe jingled, and the whiftle blew; Then in a bodkin graced her mother's hairs, Which long fhe wore, and now Belinda wears.*

* Canto V. line 87.

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The unlearned reader will be ftruck with this fplendid, genealogical defcription of an infignificant bodkin: But he, who is verfed in the writings of Homer, will perufe it with additional delight, from the recollection of the analogy, which it bears to the progrefs of Agamemnon's fceptre. In the third Canto, of the incomparable poem above referred to, a game of Ombre is defcribed with all the *pathos* and folemnity, which the heroic mufe can call forth: And the cards in Belinda's hand being pompoufly enumerated, viz.

----- Four kings, in majefty rever'd, With hoary whifkers, and a forky beard : And four fair queens, whofe hands fuftain a flow'r, Th' expressive emblem of their fofter power, &c,

the two following lines fucceed;

The skilful nymph reviews her force with case, Let Spades be trumps! she said; and trumps they were.

This parody of one of the most sublime passages in the Old Testament, " and

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" and GOD faid, Let there be light, and there was light," may, I think, be juftly deemed reprehenfible; as it tends to connect a ludicrous idea with that Being, who ought never to be thought of, but with reverence.* But fhould this remark appear to be an overftrained refinement, it will be acknowledged that, in lefs

* Pope feems to have been peculiarly fond of allufions to this paffage, of the Old Teftament; but has been a little unfortunate in the application of them. The truth is, that the fentiment is too fublime, either for burlefque, or for compliment. And the extravagance of thefe lines, in his epitaph on Sir Ifaac Newton, offends almost equally with the parody quoted above.

Nature, and Nature's laws lay hid in night; God faid, Let Newton be! and all was light.

This hyperbolical encomium is fuch a profanation of facred writ, to monumental flattery, that it was justly fatirized in the following epigram, written by a young man, who has difclosed only the initials of his name.

If Newton's exiftence enlighten'd the whole, What part of expansion inhabits the fool? If light had been total, as Pope hath averr'd, I. T. had been right, for he could not have err'd: But Pope has his faults, fo excuse a young spark; Bright Newton's deceas'd, and we're all in the dark.

dignified

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dignified cafes, very flight affociations, of the burlefque kind, have an aftonifhing effect on the fentiments and tafte of thofe who form them. When Thomfon's tragedy of Sophonifba was first reprefented on the stage, the highest expectations were formed of its theatrical merit. But a waggish parody on the following line,

O! Sophonisba! Sophonisba, O!

damned the reputation of the play; and for a while the town echoed with

O! Jemmy Thomfon! Jemmy Thomfon, O!*

It happened not long fince, that a perfon of mean rank was elected provoft, or chief magistrate, of Aberdeen. In the first moments of elevation, and

* Johnson's Lives of the Poets; Article, Thomson.

This celebrated critic, in another part of the fame work, has well obferved, that exclamations feldom fucceed in our language: And that the particle Θ ! ufed at the beginning of a fentence, always offends.

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whilft receiving the congratulations of his friends, he laid his hands upon his breaft, and very emphatically declared, that "*after all be was but a mortal man.*"

Is it possible for any one, under the impression of this ludicrous story, to read, without finiling, the fact related by Ælian, and quoted with great applause by many other historians, viz. that Philip, king of Macedon, kept a perfon in his fervice, whofe office it was to deliver to him, daily, the following admonition; Remember, Philip, that thou art mortal? Perhaps, if fuch an incident had occurred in Greece, during the reign of that monarch, it might have turned into ridicule the admiration, in which his inftitution was held; by exposing, at once, the absurdity, pride, and affected humility, on which it was founded.

The people improperly, because opprobriously, called Quakers, certainly merit M 3 a very

a very high degree of efteem from their fellow citizens, on account of their industry, temperance, peaceableness, and catholic fpirit of charity. For notwithstanding the enthusiastic pretensions of their founders, to fuperior fanctity and Divine infpiration, they difclaimed all dominion over faith and conscience. And Barclay, their learned apologist, wrote ably in defence of religious liberty; whilft Penn, as a lawgiver and civil magistrate, established it, on the broadest foundation, in his new government of Penfylvania.* At a period, when bigotry and perfecution were predominant through the Chriftian world, fuch rational

* This venerable man was fuspected of being a papift in difguife, owing to the favour shewn him by king James II. To obviate so unjust an opinion, several letters were written by him to Dr. Tillotson, then dean of Canterbury, who, amongst others, had adopted it; and in one of them he thus expresses himself. "I know not a jesuit or a priest in the "world: And yet I am a catholic, though not a Roman, "I have bowels for mankind, and dare not deny others, "what I crave for myself, I mean, liberty for the exercise of "my

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rational fentiments and liberal conduct reflect the highest honour on this sect. But the fingularity of their apparel, manners, and forms of worship, has exposed them to the keenest shafts of ridicule. And however illiberally and unjustifiably fuch offensive weapons may have been employed, they would, in all probability, have prevailed, if the converts and youth of this feet had not been fortified against them, by the most unremitting strictness of their institutions. These are admirably calculated to correct, or to prevent, all ludicrous affociations; and to suppress, if possible, the very principle of laughter, as inconfistent with the feriousness, gravity, and

" my religion; thinking faith, piety, and providence, a better "fecurity than force; and that, when truth cannot prevail with her own weapons, all others will fail her.---I am no Roman Catholic, but a Christian, whose creed is the Scripture, of the truth of which I hold a nobler evidence, than the best church authority in the world."

Brit. Biog. Vol. VII.

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godly fear of the Gospel.* It is aftonishing to obferve, in a large body of people, the efficacy of a fet of practical maxims, utterly repugnant to nature : And the influence of them is early visible, even in their children; who difplay an invariable steadiness of countenance and deportment, under circumstances which cover others, of the fame age, but differently educated, with the blushes of bashful confusion. But there is now an increasing relaxation of discipline amongst the members of this respectable community; and their diftinguishing modes will gradually ceafe, as they become more and more combined with the painful ideas of obloquy and derifion, in the minds of those who adopt them.

Piety to God, whether it refpects the inward fentiments and affections of the foul, or the outward expressions of them in homage and prayer, ought to elevate

* Barclay's Apology for the Quakers, p. 136.

us far above the reach of raillery, or the influence of low and ludicrous affociations. But unhappily, both the principle and practice of devotion are too often debased by superstition, deformed by enthusiasim, and counterfeited by hypocrify : And as these constitute legitimate objects of ridicule and contempt, the sterling value of piety itself becomes depreciated by the union of a bafe and foreign alloy. Such numbers draw near to the Deity with their lips, whilst their hearts are far from bim, that a noble writer has farcaftically observed, " If we are told a man is reli-"gious, we still ask, what are his morals? " But if we hear at first that he has honest " morals, and is a man of natural juffice " and good temper, we feldom think of " the other question, whether he be " religious and devout?"* These are confiderations, which operate powerfully on the mind : And if they be ftrengthened by the ideas of ungraceful gestures,

* Lord Shaftsbury's Characteristics.

diffonant

dissonant tones of voice, or other extravagancies in devotion, fuch a degree of timidity and falfe delicacy may be created, as entirely to depress the fervour, which these exercises are adapted to excite. Prayer may then be performed as a duty, but will not be felt as a privilege; and the creature will even blush at the higheft honour he can enjoy, that of holding communion with his Creator. Many an ingenuous youth has been defpoiled of this glorious distinction of humanity, by the fneers and jefts of his companions: And of the military profeffion it is faid, that an officer would rather face the mouth of a cannon, than be found privately in the pofture of fupplication. Dr. Swift feems to have been governed, in his religious observances, by fome fuch ill-grounded affociation. His conftant prefence at church, whilft he refided at the deanery of St. Patrick's, he knew would be expected; but he was feduloufly careful to conceal whatever

whatever had the appearance of voluntary devotion. When he was in London, therefore, he never attended divine fervice, but at a very early hour in the morning. And though he practifed family prayer in his houfe, his fervants affembled, as it were, by ftealth; fo that Dr. Delany lived fix months with him, before he difcovered it.*

I hope it will not be underftood, from what has been advanced on the topic of ludicrous affociations, that I am averfe to laughter, or an enemy to wit and pleafantry. Human life, without their exhilarating influence, would be a fcene

* Brit. Biog. Vol. VIII. Johnfon's Lives of the Poets, Article Swift.

Dr. Swift furnishes an excellent subject for the moral anatomist. His life was eventful; his passions were various and strong; and his sensibilities acute in the extreme. Selfindulgence gave every spring to action, within him, its full power; and pride prevented the concealment of its operation. Hence the motives, which directed his conduct, were selfeither extraneous or complex; and they are generally easy to be traced to their source. of anxious care, or phlegmatic dulnefs. Nor is the harfher controul of ridicule to be wholly condemned or rejected. It is neceffary to reftrain the irregular fallies of folly; and, as these often proceed from a lively imagination, the sense of it is happily acutes, where its correction is most required.

IV. There are few people, who have not, at particular feafons, experienced the effect of certain accidental affociations, which obtrude one impertinent idea, or fet of ideas, on the mind, to the exclusion of every other. Mr. Locke has noticed this weaknefs, and he humouroufly defcribes it, " as a childifhnefs " of the underftanding, wherein, during " the fit, it plays with and dandles fome " infignificant puppet, without any end " in view."* Thus, a tune, a proverb,

* Locke's Conduct of the Understanding.

a scrap

a scrap of poetry, or some other trivial object, will steal into the thoughts, and continue to posses them long after it ceases to be amusing. Persuasives to difmifs a guest that proves fo troublefome, can hardly be neceffary; and bodily exertion is generally the beft remedy for this mental infirmity. But there is another state of mind, dependent on the laws of affociation, which is more dangerous, because it invites to indulgence. It confifts in reveries, gay visions of fancy, the creation of air-built caftles, and cobweb bypotheses. Men of genius alone are incident to these flattering delufions; and they too often implicitly give way to them. But in proportion as they prevail, reason and judgment. are impaired; ftudy becomes formal dulnefs; activity toilfome; and the neceffary offices of life are neglected. Thomson has thus beautifully pictured fuch a character.

There was a man of fpecial grave remark ; A certain tender gloom o'erfpread his face, Penfive, not fad, in thought involv'd, not dark; As fweet this wight could fing as morning lark, And teach the nobleft morals of the heart : But thefe his talents were y' buried ftark.

To noon-tide fhades incontinent he ran, Where purls the brook with fleep inviting found, There would he linger till the lateft ray Of light fat trembling on the welkin's bound. Oft as he travers'd the cœrulean field, And mark'd the clouds, that drove before the wind,

Ten thousand glorious fystems would he build, Ten thousand great ideas fill'd his mind; But with the clouds they fell, and left no trace behind.*

V. It has been remarked, that gamefters, failors, and others, who are under the influence of what is vulgarly, but very improperly, termed *chance*, that is, of caufes not within the reach of human power to direct, nor of human fagacity

* Thomfon's Cafile of Indolence, Canto I.

to difcern, are extremely prone to fuperstition. Their hopes and fears, their confidence and defpair, are founded on circumstances, which bear only a fanciful relation to the events, that are to come. Imagination connects the ideas of magnitude and importance with the flighteft caufes, which are viewed in obfcurity; as objects appear largeft to our fenfes during twilight. A gamester lays great strefs on the luck of a feat, or the shake of a die : And I remember, in croffing a ferry, whilft it was very calm, the boatman whiftled more than three hours a particular set of notes, to forward the motion of his veffel, crying out, at fhort intervals, Blow, good wind, blow; blow a brisk gale ! And if a gentle gale fprung up, he redoubled his efforts, in the fulleft affurance of fuccefs. The abfolute truft, repofed in empirical medicines, arifes from a fimilar deception; and the miraculous operation, often ascribed to them, even by perfons of judgment and education, education, is a proof of the aftonifhing power of wrong affociations. The wife emperor Marcus Aurelius was fo firmly perfuaded of the efficacy of a certain antidote, called *theriaca*, to refift every fpecies of poifon, that he made ufe of it daily, to the great injury of his health. For his head became affected to fuch a degree, that he dozed in the midft of bufinefs; and when opium was left out of the composition, an obstinate watchfulnefs enfued.*

The fame principle of affociation explains the dogmatifm of the critic, and the antiquarian; whole politivenels, refpecting the conftruction of a fentence, or the letters of a worn-out infeription, is often in exact proportion to their uncertainty. When any one foars, with great ardour, into the regions of conjecture, the airy phantoms, which he meets with, will be contemplated by

* Galen de Antidotis, Lib. I. C. 1.

him

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him as substantial realities : And he will pursue truth, not with a temperate and rational zeal, but with the blind enthusiasm of love; dignifying, like a passionate inamorato, every conceit of his mind, and admiring difcoveries which exist no where, but in his own brain. These reflections have been, in part, fuggested by the perusal of the memoirs of Mr. Whiston; a man, whose genius, learning, and integrity, might have placed him high in the scale of excellence, had he not fuffered a perverted imagination to usurp the just authority of judgment. "The warmth of his temper difpofed " him to receive any fudden thoughts, " any thing, that struck his fancy, when " favourable to his preconceived fcheme " of things, or to any new fchemes of " things, which ferved, in his opinion, " a religious purpose."* With such propensities he wrote An Essay on the Revelation of St. John: And being appointed,

* Mr. Collins.

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the following year (1707), to preach Mr. Boyle's lectures, he chose for his fubject, the accomplishment of Scripture prophecies. In 1712, when prince Eugene of Savoy was in England, he dedicated a work to him, in which be interpreted the end of the hour, and day, and month, and year, for the Ottoman devastations, Apoc. 9.15. to have been put by his glorious victory over the Turks, September 1, 1697. O.S. or the succeeding peace of Carlowitz, 1698.* His favourite conceptions were now fo ftrongly rivetted in his mind, that he difcerned clearly all the revolutions of past and future ages, in the writings of the Prophets, or the revelations of St. John. Such indeed was the afcendency of these absurd affociations over his understanding, that he gave entire credit to the impudent imposture of Mary Tofts,

* Prince Eugene feems to have been pleafed with the honour of the difcovery, that he was the object of fo ancient a prediction; for he prefented Mr. Whifton, on this occasion, with a purfe of gold. See Brit. Biog. Vol. VIII. p. 247.

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a woman of Godalmin, who pretended to be delivered of rabbits, becaufe her monftrous births were deemed, by him, to be the exact completion of an old prediction in Efdras.*

In almost every cafe of wrong affociations, the understanding either voluntarily fuspends its controling and directing power, or is deluded into a conformity with fancy; and the mind ftill retains a confcioufnefs of freedom, and of moral agency. But there are certain habits, which usurp, by force, the dominion of reafon, and compel the will to gratify inordinate defires, by the choice of known evil, in preference to acknowledged good. The lamentation of the poet, video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor, feems alfo to have been felt by St. Paul, who fays, Rom. vii. 11. That which I do, I allow not; for what I would, that I do

* Gent, Mag. July 1781, p. 321.

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not;

not; but what I hate, that I do. If then I do that, which I would not, I consent unto the law, that it is good. Now then it is no more I that do, but sin that dwelleth in me. If an enlightened Apostle speaks in fuch abafing terms of himfelf, with how much more truth and propriety might the fame language have been adopted, by a late advocate for the divine difpenfation of the Gofpel. For charity inclines me to hope, that the learned author of the Christian Hero wrote in consistency with, whilst he acted in opposition to, his most ferious conviction. This work, Sir Richard Steele informs us,* was composed by him, principally with a view to contrast impressions of piety and virtue, with the ftrong propenfity, which he experienced, to licentious pleasures. For he fays, even when rioting in fcenes of debauchery, he was deeply confcious of the impropriety of his conduct, and

* See his Apology for himfelf and his writings.

condemned

condemned those unlawful gratifications, which he had not refolution to renounce. His Chriftian Hero, however, whilft the treatife remained privately in his own hands, afforded but a weak and ineffectual check to his vicious pursuits. He, therefore, determined to publish it; that, by thus placing himfelf in a new light, before his acquaintance, he might be reftrained from guilt, by an explicit and avowed testimony in favour of goodnefs. But it does not appear that this fingular experiment proved fuccessful. Steele forfook not his debaucheries; and by having affected the faint, he aggravated, in the opinion of his friends, his condemnation as a finner. Yet, Mr. Pope, who knew him well, justified him from the imputation of hypocrify; and always regarded him as a real lover of virtue, in theory, though a flave to vice, in practice.*

* Ruffhead's Life of Pope, p. 493. Brit. Biog. Vol. VIII.

Many

Many other examples might be adduced of the force of evil habits, and the pernicious influence of false affociations, whether intellectual or moral: But to dwell long on the shades of the human character, is apt to abate our benevolence to mankind; and to impair the principle of veneration, towards the great Author of our nature. More pleafing would be the task, and I will add, more eafy too, to vindicate the wifdom of the Divine laws, by shewing, that the power of habit, and the propenfity to combine ideas together, are effential to the just conftitution of the mind : And that, without their well regulated aid, knowledge would be unattainable, virtue a transient emotion or defultory act, and life itself a scene of indifference and infipidity.

LITERARY PURSUITS.

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LITERARY PURSUITS.

He, who hath treafures of his own, May leave a cottage, or a throne; May quit the world to dwell alone, Within his fpacious mind.

WHERE, amongft the men of Science, is the Archetype to be found, of a picture fo flattering to human pride? The original, from which it appears to have been drawn, was, indeed, an exalted character; but at the fame time, alas! a feeble valetudinarian, who muft have experienced those mortifying

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ing impediments to mental exertion, which arife from a conftitution naturally delicate, and broken by laborious refearches into truth. Under fuch circumftances, could it be affirmed, that

> Locke had a foul, Wide as the fea, Calm as the night, Bright as the day; There might his vaft ideas play, Nor feel a thought confin'd.

The amiable Poet, * who has thus pourtrayed, with the glowing colours of admiration and refpect, one of the moft diftinguished ornaments of the human species, passed himself a life of lingering fickness: And, though his genius was fertile, and his industry wonderfully and variously productive, yet, such was his fensibility of the obstructions he had to furmount, that he made a painful and

* Dr. Watts.

humiliating

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humiliating calculation of the days, months, and years, which he had loft, even by his slightest malady, the toothach. The celebrated M. Pascal languished, four years, under a diftemper, which, without manifesting itself by many outward figns, or occasioning confinement, debarred him of the pleafures and improvements of study. And it was the anxious office of his friends, to guard him from writing, or fpeaking on any topics, which might exercise much thought or attention.* Mr. Pope's vital functions were fo difordered, that his life is emphatically faid to have been a long disease. The head-ach was his most frequent affailant; and he used to relieve it, by inhaling the fleams of coffee, which he often required during those hours, that should have afforded the refreshment of sleep: Such was his earnestness and solicitude in the prosecu-

* Preface to Pafcal's Thoughts.

tion of his literary undertakings, that Swift complains, he was never at leifure for conversation. And one of lord Oxford's domeftics related, that in the fevere winter of 1740, she was called from her bed four times, in one night, to fupply him with paper, that he might not lose a thought.* The learned biographer, who, with all the feverity of sarcasm, records this fact, acknowledges, in the preface to the most laborious of his works, that he himfelf triumphed in the acquisitions, which he should difplay to mankind : and indulged all the dreams of a Poet doomed, at last, to wake a Lexicographer. For he found that "one enquiry only gave occasion " to another, that book referred to "book; that to fearch was not always " to find; and to find was not always " to be informed; and that thus to pur-" fue perfection, was, like the first in-"habitants of Arcadia, to chace the

* Johnson's Lives of the Poets.

cc fun,

"fun, which, when they had reached "the hill where he feemed to reft, was "ftill beheld at the fame diftance from "them." There is a paffage in Thomfon's *Caftle of Indolence*, fo applicable to this kind of folly, that I am tempted to tranfcribe it.

This globe pourtray'd the race of learned men, Still at their books, and turning o'er the page, Backwards and forwards: oft they fnatch the pen, As if infpir'd, and in a Thefpian rage, Then write and blot, as would your ruth engage. Why, authors! all this forawl and foribbling fore? To lofe the prefent, gain the future age, Praifed to be, when you can hear no more; And much enrich'd with fame, when ufelefs worldly ftore?*

The examples, which I have recited, are of men occupied chiefly, if not folely, in the walks of literature. But the tafte for knowledge may be cultivated, fuccefsfully, in the bufy fcenes of active

* Thomson's Caftle of Indolence, Canto I.

life.

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life. And under these circumstances, aftonishing proficiency has been made, by the combined powers of genius and industry. The works of Tully, Pliny the elder, Bacon, Temple, and Bolingbroke, not to mention various other names of ancient and modern times, are fufficient evidences of this fact. But neither the efforts of genius nor of induftry can ward off fickness, obviate folicitude, or stop those unaccountable ebbings of the mind, which even a lowering sky will sometimes produce. Cicero, notwithstanding all his exultation, on the foothing influence of philosophy, found himself under the necessity of retiring, at certain feasons, to one of his country villas, fituated near Aftura. And in this folitary refidence, which was covered with a thick wood, cut into shady walks, he used to pass his hours of spleen and melancholy.*

* Middleton's Life of Cicero, Vol. III. p. 296.

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But could we fuppose health to be enjoyed without interruption, the spirits to be always lively and active, and all the intellectual faculties in a state of uniform composure and energy, yet still the progress in knowledge would be retarded by error, and obstructed by the want of those materials, for which we must depend on the accuracy, industry, and attainments of others. The temple of fcience requires, for its elevation, the united labours of myriads of different artifts; and the conftruction of it will be perpetually incident to delays, by the indolence, unskilfulness, and mistakes of those, who are employed in the undertaking. In fuch circumstances, to unite ardour with ferenity, an enthusiasm for fcience with patience under all the obftructions of pursuit, from outward accident or inward infirmity, is a happinefs, of which few can boast.* And the page

* Sir Ifaac Newton affords a fingular example of temperate ardour, unremitting energy, and almost invariable equanimity.

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of biography is filled with narratives of the queruloufnefs, impaired health, and mental imbecility of thofe, who, by their writings, have informed, enlightened, and charmed mankind. Juft views of the defigns of Providence, in the government of the world, and particularly in the ftructure of the human mind with refpect to the progreffive evolution of its faculties, would tend to obviate thefe evils, by reftraining the inordinate afpirations of literary ambition, and by correcting the inconfiftency of expectation, from which they proceed.

Man is evidently conftituted for two great ends; the attainment of virtue, and of knowledge. All his mental endowments have a reference to one or other of thefe final caufes: On them, therefore, must depend the *perfettion*, and *felicity* of his nature. But his moral powers feem more circumfcribed in their operation, and confequently to admit of lefs extenfive culture, than those of his understanding. For they are confined within the limits of rational, or at most of fenfitive being, and with fuch they can hold only a partial, and contracted correspondence: whilst the intellectual faculties have, for their object, the whole fystem of nature, the infinitude of which is, perhaps, not lefs apparent in its minutenefs, than immenfity. From thefe confiderations, I am inclined to believe, that our station, in the prefent world, is intended for near approaches towards the maturity of virtue; but for the infancy only of knowledge. And the wifdom of this ordinance, of the Deity, is fufficiently discernible. For as knowledge is power, the antecedent possession of goodness, to direct it, must be effentially necessary to beatitude. The paffions and affections are of fpeedy growth, and often manifest great vigour in that feafon of life, which is marked by the feebleness of reason. Increasing years modify, direct, and meliorate \cap

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liorate them; but the discipline of experience ferves rather to balance and restrain, than to augment their native ftrength and energy. On the contrary, the mind proceeds by flow and regular gradations, in the attainment of fcience. And our acquifitions confift not, folely, in the difcovery of new objects or phænomena; but in the comparison of these with what we already know,* and in ascertaining their reciprocal dependencies, relations, or contrarieties. Thus knowledge is multiplied beyond the fum of its separate and component parts: And every acceffion to it increases the ftock in a ratio, that, we may devoutly truft, will become greater and greater through all eternity.

But the bulk of mankind, in this stage of existence, are in circumstances, which preclude any confiderable advancement

^{*} Maclaurin's View of Sir Ifaac Newton's Philosophy.

in learning. And we may observe, that the difpensation of the Gospel gives no direct encouragement to it, * but applies all its precepts and exhortations to the cultivation of the heart. For the principles and practice of virtue are accommodated to every period and condition of life; and are exercifed, refined, and exalted even by poverty, infirmity, ficknefs, and old age; all which check the exertions, and deprefs the vigour of human genius. Rectitude of difpolition and of conduct bears a precife and permanent relation to all times, perfons, and occurrences. And if we afcend from particular to general excellence, by contemplating the duty of man in the aggregate, we may form a diftinct and

* Many paffages, in the New Teftament, according to a literal interpretation, feem *direttly levelled against* human learning; which is defcribed as vain, deceitful, traditionary, confisting of endless genealogies, idle babblings, and profane fables. But the best commentators are of opinion, that these censures have a reference only to the absurd philosophy of the Gnostics or Sophist, which was derived from the Egyptians.

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adequate idea of moral perfection. But what mind can expand itfelf to the conception of complete intelligence !— Every ftep of our afcent, on the hill of fcience, prefents to the view a widening horizon; and the boundary of darknefs increafes, in proportion to the amplitude of those enlightened regions, which it incircles.

It is this endlefs progression of knowledge, which is apt to give the love of it an inordinate ascendency over every other principle, fo as to render it the ruling passion of the mind. And, as this paffion does not, like the love of virtue, temper its particular exertions, by preferving a due fubordination in the powers which it calls forth into action, the wildest extravagances, of emotion and of conduct, have been difplayed by those, who fubmit to its uncontrouled dominion. A great philofopher has rushed naked, from the bath, into

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into the streets of a populous city, frantic with joy, on the folution of an interesting problem. Tacitus informs us, that his excellent father-in-law Agricola " was inclined to have engaged more " deeply, in the fludies of philosophy " and law, than was fuitable to a Roman " and a fenator, if the difcretion of his " mother had not reftrained the warmth " and vehemence of his difpolition: "For his high fpirit, inflamed by the " charms of glory and exalted reputa-"tion, led him to the purfuit, with "more eagerness than judgment. Rea-" fon, and riper years, mitigated his " ardour; and, what is a most difficult task, " he preserved moderation in science itself."* The emperor Marcus Antoninus, in one of his meditations, expresses fervent gratitude to the gods, that, by their favour, he had made no further advances in

* Tacitus in Vit. Agric. See, alfo, Mr. Aikin's elegant translation of this admirable piece of Biography, p. 65.

03

rhetoric,

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rhetoric, poetry, and other amufing fludies; that he had not beftowed too much time on voluminous reading, logical difputations, or refearches into phyfics; becaufe thefe might have engroffed his mind, or diverted his attention from the peculiar duties of his elevated flation.* Juft and weighty, therefore, is the maxim of another ancient moralift, with which I fhall conclude thefe reflections, that we fould not reft fatisfied with the words of wifdom, without the WORKS; nor turn philofophy into an idle pleafure, which was given us for a falutary remedy.[†]

* Marc. Antonin, Lib. I. + Seneca,

ON THE

ADVANTAGES OF A TASTE

FOR THE GENERAL

BEAUTIES OF NATURE, AND OF ART.

04

ME VERO PRIMUM DULCES ANTE OMNIA MUSZE ACCIPIANT ! -----

VIRG.

QUID MINUAT CURAS, QUID TE TIBI REDDAT AMICUM.

HOR.

SECTION I.

ON THE

BEAUTIES OF NATURE.

THAT fenfibility to beauty, which, when cultivated and improved, we term Tafte, is univerfally diffufed through the human fpecies: And it is moft uniform with refpect to those objects, which, being out of our power, are not liable to variation, from accident, caprice, or fashion. The verdant lawn, the shady grove, the variegated landfcape, the boundless ocean, and the starry firmament, are contemplated with pleasure by every attentive beholder. But

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But the emotions of different fpectators, though fimilar in kind, differ widely in degree: And to relifh, with full delight, the enchanting fcenes of nature, the mind muft be uncorrupted by avarice, fenfuality, or ambition; quick in her fenfibilities; elevated in her fentiments; and devout in her affections. He, who poffeffes fuch exalted powers of perception and enjoyment, may almost fay, with the Poet,

⁶⁶ I care not, Fortune! what you me deny;
⁶⁶ You cannot rob me of free Nature's grace;
⁶⁷ You cannot fhut the windows of the fky,
⁶⁶ Thro' which Aurora fhews her brightening face;
⁶⁷ You cannot bar my conftant feet to trace
⁶⁶ The woods and lawns, by living ftream, at eve:
⁶⁶ Let health my nerves and finer fibres brace,
⁶⁶ And I their toys to the great children leave:
⁶⁷ Of fancy, reafon, virtue, nought can me bereave.¹⁰*

Perhaps fuch ardent enthusiasim may not be compatible with the necessary

* Thomfon's Caftle of Indolence.

toils,

toils, and active offices, which Providence has affigned to the generality of men. But there are none, to whom fome portion of it may not prove advantageous; and if it were cherished, by each individual, in that degree which is confiftent with the indifpenfable duties of his station, the felicity of human life would be confiderably augmented. From this fource, the refined and vivid pleafures of the imagination are almost entirely derived : And the elegant arts owe their choicest beauties to a taste for the contemplation of nature. Painting and sculpture are express imitations of visible objects: And where would be the charms of poetry, if divested of the imagery and embellishments, which she borrows from rural scenes? Painters, statuaries, and poets, therefore, are always ambitious to acknowledge themfelves the pupils of nature; and as their skill increases, they grow more and more delighted with every view of the animal and

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and vegetable world. But the pleafure refulting from admiration is transient; and to cultivate tafte, without regard to its influence on the passions and affections, " is to rear a tree for its bloss, " which is capable of yielding the richest, " and most valuable fruit."* Physical and moral beauty bear fo intimate a relation to each other, that they may be considered as different gradations in the fcale of excellence; and the knowledge and relish of the former, should be deemed only a step to the nobler and more permanent enjoyments of the latter.

Whoever has vifited the Leafowes, in Warwickshire, must have felt the force and propriety of an infeription, which meets the eye, at the entrance into those delightful grounds.

"Would you then tafte the tranquil fcene? "Be fure your bofoms be ferene;

* Shenftone.

OF NATURE.

" Devoid of hate, devoid of strife,

- " Devoid of all that poifons life :
- " And much it 'vails you, in their place

" To graft the love of human race."*

Now fuch fcenes contribute powerfully to infpire that ferenity, which is neceffary to enjoy, and to heighten their beauties. By a fecret contagion, the foul catches the harmony, which fhe contemplates; and the frame within, affimilates itfelf to that which is without. For,

Who can forbear to fmile with Nature? Can
The formy paffions in the bofom roll,
While every gale is peace, and every grove
Is melody?"⁺

* Shenstone.

+ Thomson's Seasons, first Edit.

Horace, when he breaks forth into the animated exclamation,

- " O, rus ! quando ego te aspiciam, quandoque licebit
- « Nunc veterum libris, nunc somno et inertibus horis

" Ducere solicitæ jucunda oblivia vitæ;"

feems to regret the want of that heartfelt complacency, which the buftle, pomp, and pleafures of imperial Rome could not afford,

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In this state of fweet composure, we become fusceptible of virtuous impreffions, from almost every furrounding object. The patient ox is viewed with generous complacency; the guilelefs sheep, with pity; and the playful lamb raises emotions of tenderness and love. We rejoice with the horfe, in his liberty and exemption from toil, whilft he ranges at large through enamelled paftures; and the frolics of the colt would afford unmixed delight, did we not recollect the bondage, which he is foon to undergo. We are charmed with the fongs of birds, foothed with the buzz of infects, and pleafed with the sportive motions of fishes, because these are expressions of enjoyment; and we exult in the felicity of the whole animated creation. Thus an equal and extensive benevolence is called forth into exertion; and having felt a common interest in the gratifications of inferior beings, we shall be no longer indifferent

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indifferent to their fufferings, or become wantonly inftrumental in producing them.

It feems to be the intention of Providence, that the lower orders of animals should be subservient to the comfort, convenience, and fustenance of man. But his right of dominion extends no farther; and if this right be exercised with mildnefs, humanity, and justice, the fubjects of his power will be no less benefitted than himfelf. For various species of living creatures are annually multiplied by human art, improved in their perceptive powers by human culture, and plentifully fed by human industry. The relation, therefore, is reciprocal, between fuch animals and man; and he may fupply his own wants by the ufe of their labour, the produce of their bodies, and even the facrifice of their lives; whilst he co-operates with all-gracious Heaven, in promoting HAPPINESS, the great end of existence.

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But though it be true, that partial evil, with refpect to different orders of fenfitive beings, may be univerfal good; and that it is a wife and benevolent inftitution of nature, to make deftruction itfelf, within certain limitations, the caufe of an increase of life and enjoyment; yet a generous perfon will extend his compassionate regards to every individual, that fuffers for his fake : And, whilst he fighs

"" Ev'n for the kid, or lamb, that pours its life "Beneath the bloody knife;" *

he will naturally be folicitous to mitigate pain, both in duration and degree, by the gentleft modes of inflicting it.

I am inclined to believe, however, that this fenfe of humanity would foon be obliterated, and that the heart would grow callous to every foft impression, were it not for the benignant influence

* Lord Lyttelton.

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of the finiling face of nature. The Count de Lauzun, when imprisoned by Louis XIV. in the caftle of Pignerol, amused himself, during a long period of time, with catching flies, and delivering them to be devoured by a rapacious spider. Such an entertainment was equally fingular and cruel; and inconfiftent, I believe, with his former character, and subsequent turn of mind. But his cell had no window; and received only a glimmering light, from an aperture in the roof. In lefs unfavourable circumstances, may we not presume, that inftead of fporting with mifery, he would have releafed the agonifing flies; and bid them enjoy that freedom, of which he himfelf was bereaved ?

But the tafte for natural beauty is fubfervient to higher purpofes, than those which have been enumerated: And the cultivation of it not only refines and humanifes, but dignifies and exalts the \mathbf{P} affections.

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affections. It elevates them to the admiration and love of that Being, who is the Author of all that is fair, fublime, and good in the creation. Scepticifm and irreligion are hardly compatible with the fenfibility of heart, * which arifes from a just and lively relish of the wifdom, harmony, and order fubfifting in the world around us: And emotions of piety must fpring up spontaneously in the bofom, that is in unifon with all animated nature. Actuated by this divine inspiration, man finds a fane in every grove: And glowing with devout fervour, he joins his fong to the universal chorus; or muses the praise of the Almighty, in more expressive filence. Thus they

- "Whom Nature's works can charm, with God himfelf
- "Hold converse; grow familiar, day by day,
- "With his conceptions; act upon his plan;
- " And form to his, the relifh of their fouls." †

* See Gregory's Comparative View. + Akenfide.

SECTION

SECTION II.

Ó N

A GENERAL TASTE FOR THE

FINE ARTS.

THE analogy of phyfical to moral beauty, and the connection fubfifting between a good heart, and a juft relifh for the general works of nature, have, I truft, been fully eftablifhed. But, though all mankind are endued with the principle or faculty of tafte, it often lies almost entirely dormant, for want of cultivation. The favage Indian, wholly P 2 occupied

occupied in providing for the neceffities of life, traverses the defart, and the flowery lawn, with equal indifference. Eager in the chafe, he fcarcely turns his eye, as he paffes along, to contemplate the golden beams of the fetting fun, reflected from the lake of Erie. Or if he quit his native wilds, in the fummer feafon, to fish in the river Ohio, he fits in his canoe, inattentive to the awful cataract, and views the most fplendid fcene in the creation, with flight and transient emotions. Nor are the generality of men, even in civilifed fociety, or in the higher walks of life, fully qualified to comprehend or to admire the assemblage of beauties, which the visible creation presents to the view of an enlightened imagination. Single objects, or detached parts, attract the notice and engrofs the attention : And the mind, by an eafy transition, passes to the recognition and relifh of those operations

of

of human skill, which are their symbols, or representations. For the elegant arts are all imitative in their effence and origin. Thus mufic, by the variation of its movements and tones, calls up, into the mind, ideas both of the natural, animal, and rational world. The murmuring brook, and boifterous ocean; the stormy wind, and gentle zephyr; the wild roar of the lion, the bleating of the lamb, and the plaintive melody of the nightingale, are all within the compass of its mimetic enchantments. These are extended even to the passions and emotions of the human heart; fo as to typify anger, pity, remorfe, delight, and forrow. Painting occupies a still wider field of fimilitude and affociation; difplaying all those objects, which are known to us, in nature, by diversity of figure, or the various shades of colour. Even motions and founds may be expreffed by this wonderful art. For, as P 3 they

they are accompanied, in many inftances, with a certain configuration, or polition of parts, the fign is readily adopted for the thing fignified. And we fee or hear upon the canvas, the horfe *ftarting* aghaft at the fudden view of the lion; the foldier *running* towards his dying general with the news of victory; the cock *crowing* at the denial of Peter; and the waterfall *dashing* against the rocks below.*

Poetry, under which term I mean to comprehend all numerous and rhetorical composition, derives most of its charms from allusions, similies, metaphors, or defcriptions; and these are obviously imitative. In this way, its powers are so transfordant, that even a single epithet will sometimes produce a representation more pictures fue, than the pencil of Poussin, or Salvator Rosa, ever ex-

Mr. Stubbs's Picture, The death of General Wolfe, &c.

hibited.

hibited. The first line, in the following stanza of Gray's elegy, will afford an example, and a proof, of what is here advanced.

Now fades the *glimmering* landfcape on the fight, And all the air a folemn ftillnefs holds, Save where the beetle wheels his droning flight, And drowfy tinklings lull the diftant folds.*

The accuracy and force of the word glimmering must be felt by any one, who has viewed, with attention, an extensive prospect, about an hour after sun-set.

The mimetic arts have fome advantages over nature herfelf; for the imitations, with which they prefent us, are generally agreeable, even though their archetypes be, in themfelves, indifferent or difgufting. The mind delights in comparifon; and this pleafure is heightened

* Gray's Elegy.

P 4

by the recognition of refemblance, and by the contemplation of ingenious defign, or mafterly execution. Who can read Mr. Gay's defcription of a poor, benighted traveller, without being charmed at the verifimilitude of the narration; which is, at once, fo clear, fo difcriminative, and circumftantial, that we become, as it were, fpectators of a fcene, which either in its parts, or in the whole, is exactly correspondent to our recollection and experience.

It is evident, therefore, that the fine arts have, for their object, the gratification of the fame faculty, which perceives and relifhes the charms of nature. And by analogy we may infer, that the exercife, which they give to the tafte, is favourable to the virtuous affections of the heart. This truth has been fo long acknowledged, that the obfervation of

the Poet is now received, as an established maxim in ethics;

> Ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.**

But the validity of this canon is not to be admitted, without fome reftriction. The energies of mufic, painting, and poetry, are fo powerful and multifarious, that they have, at command, all the emotions and paffions of the foul.

----- pectus inaniter angunt, Irritant, mulcent, falsis terroribus implent.*

They may excite or reftrain, kindle or extinguish passion, and thus, according to their application, become the instruments either of vice, or of virtue. They are incident, likewise, to numberless adventitious affociations, which, counteracting or diversifying their natural and original tendency, may make them administer to vanity, oftentation, pride,

* Hor. Epift. I. Lib. 2.

envy, and jealoufy. Such difpofitions are fometimes found in the profeffors of thefe arts; and the difplay of them, in men of diftinguisched genius and merit, raifes in our minds a painful struggle of difcordant emotions.*

Whoever, therefore, yields himfelf, implicitly, to the magic delufions of the fine arts, is in danger of having his judgment impaired, his heart corrupted, and his capacity deftroyed for the ordinary duties and enjoyments of life. To this fource may be traced all the follies and extravagance of what is termed VERTU. Admiration ftimulates the defire of poffeffion, however immoderate the price; poffeffion turns the admiration of the object to ourfelves; and this is fuc-

* Who would not laugh, if fuch a one there be?

Who would not weep, if Atticus were he? POPE.

No reflection is meant, by the quotation of these lines, on the very respectable character to whom they allude. They were dictated by resentment, and reprobated by some of the Poet's best friends.

ceeded by a fond and abfurd impatience to difplay a fuperiority over others, both in tafte and property.

What brought Sir Vifto's ill got wealth to wafte? Some dæmon whifper'd, "Vifto, have a tafte." Heaven vifits with a tafte the wealthy fool; And needs no rod, but Ripley with a rule.*

But it is further to be obferved, that, as an acute relifh for beauty, and a quick difcernment of deformity are, in a certain proportion, neceffarily connected together; the latter may become predominant, through pride, affectation, or too frequent indulgence. Whenever this happens, tafte will prove the inftrument of pain, and not of pleafure: And the faftidious feelings of difguft, fo often excited, will be transferred, from the works of human fkill, to human life; rendering the temper petulant, morofe, and felfifh. But a perverfion of the

* Pope's Moral Effays.

powers of the imagination is no argument against their proper culture, and well regulated application. For reason itself is liable to abuse; and philosophy and religion have been rendered subfervient to scepticism and superstition.

MISCEL-

MISCELLANEOUS

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE ALLIANCE OF

NATURAL HISTORY, AND PHILOSOPHY, WITH POETRY.

----- NIL SCRIBENS IPSE DOCEBO UNDE PARENTUR OPES; QUID ALAT FORMETQUE POETAM.

----- VATIBUS ADDERE CALCAR. HOR,

MISCELLANEOUS

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE ALLIANCE OF

NATURAL HISTORY, AND PHILOSOPHY,

WITH POETRY.*

THE maxim of lord Verulam, that "knowledge is power," is no lefs applicable to poefy, than to philofophy. For whether we engage in this delightful purfuit as an art, or as a fcience, it is evident that the ability to convey, and the capacity to relifh its peculiar plea-

* In this Effay, the author has confined his views, chiefly, to the application of natural knowledge, to that branch of the poetic art, which relates to DESCRIPTION; referving, for fome future occasion, the alliance of physics, with poetical IMAGERY and MORAL ANALOGY.

fures,

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fures, must be exactly proportioned to our acquaintance with the means either of communicating or enjoying them. The works of creation are the great ftorehouse, where these means are to be fought. And an inquisitive attention to every furrounding object is effential to the poet, and highly useful to the lover of poetry. He, who extends his refearches beyond the surface of things, will find that the treasures of nature are inexhaustible. For it is literally, no less than metaphorically true, that

--- Many a gem, of purest ray ferene, The dark unfathom'd caves of ocean bear, Full many a flower is born to blush unseen, And waste its sweetness on the desart air.*

Yet few have been the labourers in this rich harvest of science, since the days of Theocritus; and the pastoral descriptions and images of that ancient Sicilian bard, have been used like hereditary

* Gray's Elegy.

property,

AND POETRY. 225

property, by all fucceeding poets. In the ruder ages of the world, the modes of life were peculiarly favourable to the observation of nature. Rural scenery was continually before the eyes; and the culture of land, or the care of sheep and cattle, conftituted the occupation of the greatest personages. This furnished a rich fupply of original materials, which must for ever be withheld from those, who immure themfelves in cities, and contemplate only the operations of art. Writers, therefore, of this class, are humbly fatisfied to be mere copyifts of others; and adopt, without referve, the figures, allufions, and reprefentations of their poetical predecessors. But science, which is borrowed, is often mifunderftood: And it is not in the power, even of genius itself, to obviate the mistakes which are committed through ignorance. Who, for instance, can notice the countenance of the Ox, without perceiving, that it difplays meeknefs, patience, and the moft

most inoffensive disposition;* and that the eyes of this animal are of no unufual dimension? Yet, in many versions of Homer, that divine poet, fo converfant with zoology, is made to stile the artful, proud, and paffionate queen of the gods "Ox-eyed Juno." This miltake of the translators has evidently arisen, from the want of attention to nature. And M. Dacier has fhewn, that the particle C8 is only an augmentative, fignifying (valde) large-eyed; and that it has no direct relation to the ox. The error, which Dr. Young has fallen into, in his paraphrafe on Job, is more pardonable; becaufe an English poet, who has never feen the CROCODILE, might be ignorant that his eyes are remarkably fmall. This animal is supposed to be the Leviathan, described in the 41st chapter of that book. And, if the explanation be true,

* Thomfon thus defcribes the ox :

That honeft, harmlefs, guilelefs animal.

the

the following paffage muft have a reference to the brightnefs, and not to the magnitude, of his organs of fight, as my friend Mr. Aikin has judicioufly remarked.* By bis neezings a light doth *fhine*; and bis eyes are like the eyelids of the morning. Dr. Young, by a mifconception of the original, has rendered this ftrong figure ftill more hyperbolical.

" Large is his front; and when his burnish'd eyes " Lift their broad lids, the morning seems to rife."

In a former effay I have remarked, concerning the mimetic powers of poetry, that a fingle word will fometimes produce a reprefentation more picturefque, than the pencil of Pouffin, or of Salvator Rofa, ever exhibited. And the obfervation was exemplified by this line of Mr. Gray;

" Now fades the glimmering landfcape on the fight,"

• See his elegant and ingenious Effay, on the Application of Natural Hiftory to Poetry.

in which the accuracy and force of the epithet glimmering will be felt by any one, who has viewed, with attention, an extensive prospect, about an hour after fun-fet.* But a gentleman of this county, who has inferted the foregoing line in a very elegant little poem, by an unfortunate transposition, has entirely deftroyed its beauty, truth, and energy.

" Now fades the landscape on the glimmering fight."

Many original writers, of the moft diftinguished reputation, have deviated widely from nature, by adopting facts and opinions without examination, or on infufficient authority. Thus the poet Lucretius, who flourished about fifty years before the Christian æra, has fanctioned the vulgar error, that, in the JAUNDICE, objects are painted on the retina, of the fame colour with that, which tinges the external coat of the

* Effay on the Advantages of a Tafte for Nature and the Fine Arts.

eye;

eye; and has given a theory of it in conformity to the philosophy of the Epicurean school.

Lurida præterea fiunt quæcunque tuentur Arquati, quia luroris de corpore eorum Semina multa fluunt, fimulacris obvia rerum; Multaque funt oculis in eorum denique mista, Quæ contage fua palloribus omnia pingunt.*

Befides, whatever jaundic'd eyes do view, Look pale, as well as thofe, and yellow too, For lurid parts fly off, with nimble wings, And meet the diftant coming forms of things : And others lurk within the eyes, and feize, And ftain, with pale, the entering images. +

Mr. Pope has authorifed the fame obfervation, in his Effay on Criticism.

All feems infected, that th' infected fpy, As all looks yellow to the jaundic'd eye. "

And the like mistaken allusion is more than once repeated in an admirable poem, lately published by Mr. Hayley.

* Lucretius, Lib. IV. line 333.

+ Creech's Tranf. of Lucret. Book IV. line 344.

Q 3

" The bards of Britain, with unjaundic'd eyes, " Will glory to behold fuch rivals rife.*

" On fairest names, from every blemish free;

" Save what the jaundic'd eyes of party fee."

I am inclined to believe there is no fufficient foundation for this opinion. Galen indeed fpeaks of yellow vifion, as common to icteric patients; and Sextus Empyricus has delivered the fame account: But their relation is neither confirmed by experience, nor confonant to reafon. In the worft cafes of the jaundice, now known, this fymptom has no exiftence; and I do not find it noticed in the records of Aretæus, Celfus, or Hippocrates.

The fuppofition, that the fertilifing quality of snow arifes from nitrous falts, which it is fuppofed to acquire in the act of freezing, is void of foundation;

* On Epic Poetry, Epift. IV.

because

becaufe the moft accurate experiments have demonstrated, that it contains no nitre, and only a fmall portion of calcareous earth. Falfe philosophy, fays an eminent chemist,* first gave rise to this idea, and poetry has contributed to diffuse the error. Thus Mr. Philips;

Thy furrows whiten'd by the woolly rain, Nutritious; fecret nitre lurks within The porous wet; quickening the languid glebe.

But the following lines, of Mr. Thomfon, do not appear to me to be liable to the fame objection. For the term *falts*, with the annexed epithet *little*, may be applied, without much poetical licence, to the cryftals of water, formed by freezing.

What art thou, frost? Is not thy potent energy unfeen, Myriads of *little falts*, or hook'd, or shap'd Like double wedges, and diffus'd immense Thro' water, earth and ether ?

* Dr. Watson, now Bishop of Landass, in his Chemical Essays.

The operation of froft is here afcribed to its mechanical powers. For, by binding the furface of the earth, it arrefts the exhalations, as they afcend from the parts below; and thus retains a nutritious *pabulum*, to be applied, at the proper feafon, to the roots of plants. But it chiefly meliorates the foil, by pulverifing the particles which compofe it, and fitting them for the abforption of the vernal dews and rains.

Whenever PHILOSOPHY is introduced into poetry, truth, for the moft part, is effential to its power of giving pleafure. And our great epic writer feems to defcend, fometimes, from the majefty of his work, by mixing, with modern difcoveries, the groundlefs opinions of the ancients. Thus, when Raphael addreffes Adam, concerning the great fyftem of nature, he fays,

With their attendant moons, thou wilt defcry, Communicating male and female light.*

* Milton's Paradife Loft, Book VIII. line 148.

The

The idea of *male* light being communicated by the *fun*, and *female* light by the *moon*, probably originated, in the mind of Milton, from his intimate acquaintance with the writings of Pliny; who mentions, as a tradition, " that " the fun is a mafculine ftar, drying all " things, but that the moon is a foft and " feminine ftar, of diffolving power: " And that thus the balance of nature " is preferved; fome of the ftars binding " the elements; and others loofening " them."*

The HARMONY of the SPHERES, or mufical revolution of the heavenly bodies in their feveral orbits, was first taught by the Pythagoreans; who feem to have

* Solis ardore ficcatur liquor; et boc effe masculum sidus accepimus, torrens cunëta sorbensque.--- E contrario ferunt lunam semineum ac molle sidus, atque noëturnum solvere bumorem.--- Ita pensari naturæ vices, semperque sufficere, alüs siderum elementa cogentibus, alüs vero sundentibus. Hist. Lib. II. Cap. 100. See also the notes to Newton's Edit. of Par. Lost.

derived

derived this fanciful doctrine from analogy. For it was observed, by these philosophers, that a mufical chord produces the fame note, as one double in length, when the force is quadruple with which the latter is stretched : Hence they supposed that the gravity of a planet is quadruple the gravity of a planet, at a double distance. And as any musical chord may become unifon to a leffer chord, of the fame kind, if its tenfion be increafed in the fame proportion as the fquare of its length is greater; fo the gravity of a planet may become equal to the gravity of another planet, nearer to the fun, provided it be increased in proportion as the square of its distance from the fun is greater. If, therefore, musical chords be extended from the fun to each planet, to bring them into unifon, it would be requisite, to increase or diminish their tensions, in the same proportions, as would be fufficient to render the the gravity of the planets equal.* This notion of the Pythagoreans is fo pleafing to the imagination, that it is not furprifing the poets have adopted it. And Milton has given fuch a view of it, as wants nothing but philofophical truth to render it delightful.

Myftical dance, which yonder flarry fphere Of planets, and of fix'd, in all her wheels Refembles neareft; mazes intricate, Eccentric, intervolv'd, yet regular, Then moft, when moft irregular they feem; And in their motions harmony divine So fmooths her charming tones, that God's own ear Liftens delighted. †

Mr. Pope has not only fuppofed the actual existence of this heavenly harmony, but that it is possible the human ear might have been so constituted, as to have been fensible of it.

* Vid. Plin. Lib. II. Cap. 22. Macrob. Lib. II. Cap. 1. See also, Maclaurin's account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophical Discoveries, page 34.

† Paradife Loft, Book V. line 620.

If Nature thunder'd in his opening ears, And ftunn'd him with the mufic of the fpheres; How would he wifh that heav'n had left him ftill, The whifp'ring zephyr, and the purling rill?*

Thofe, who are in poffeffion of the firft or fecond edition of Thomfon's Seafons, will find a grofs geographical miftake, in the hymn which is annexed to them. Towards the clofe of this beautiful poem, the author expresses his pious confidence in the universal wisdom, and impartial benevolence of the Deity; and afferts, that the fame regular feasons, which he had deferibed with such fervour of delight in the preceding work, are equally experienced in every part of the globe.

----- GOD is ever prefent, ever felt, In the void wafte, as in the city full; Roll the *fame kindred feafons* round the world, In all *apparent*, wife and good in all.

* Esfay on Man, Ep. I. ver. 201.

The two last lines are omitted, in the subsequent editions of this poem.

The SYSTEM of PHILOSOPHY, which is now received, independent of its fuperiority in point of truth, infinitely exceeds in extent, elevation, and grandeur, that of the ancients. The poet, therefore, fhould be well verfed in the fcience of phyfics, not only becaufe he can feldom deviate from it,* without injury to his

* In the following lines, the thought becomes low, by being unphilosophical.

Why fhould'ft thou, but for fome felonious end, In thy dark lanthorn thus clofe up the ftars That Nature hung in heaven, and filled their lamps With everlafting oil.

Milton's Comus.

The fentiment is more brilliant, in a fubfequent paffage of this poem, but not more folid. And it is rendered abfurd by the leaft reflection, on the impoffibility of finking the vaft orbs of the fun and moon, in the ocean; or, as it is here improperly filed, the *flat fea*.

Virtue could fee to do what virtue would, By her own radiant light; though fun and moon Were in the *flat fea* funk. compositions, but because these may derive from it fublimity, embellishment, or grace. Aftronomy, in particular, furnishes such magnificent ideas, and boundless views, that imagination can hardly grafp, much lefs exalt or amplify them. " The objects which we commonly call "great," fays an eminent writer, "vanish, " when we contemplate the vaft body of " the earth; the terraqueous globe itfelf " is foon loft in the folar fystem. In " some parts it is seen as a distant star; " in others it is unknown; or visible " only at rare times, to vigilant observers. "The fun itself dwindles into a star; " Saturn's vaft orbit, and the orbits of " all the comets, crowd into a point, " when viewed from numberlefs fpaces " between the earth and the nearest of " the fixed stars. Other funs kindle light " to illuminate other fystems, where our " fun's rays are unperceived; but they " also are swallowed up in the vast ex-" panfe. Even all the fystems of the " ftars,

"ftars, that sparkle in the clearest sky, " must posses a corner only of that space, "through which fuch fystems are dif-" perfed : Since more stars are discovered " in one conftellation, by the telescope, "than the naked eye perceives in the "whole heavens. After we have rifen " fo high, and left all definite measures " far behind us, we find ourfelves no " nearer to a term or limit; for all this " is nothing to what may be difplayed " in the infinite expanse, beyond the re-" motest stars that have hitherto been dif-" covered."* This description, though delivered in the chafte language of a mathematician; is, in fentiment, fo truly sublime, that it wants nothing but numbers to conftitute it poetry. And, in the following lines, it appears with all the charms of grace and harmony.

On Fancy's wild and roving wing I fail From the green borders of the peopled earth,

* Maclaurin's View of Sir Isaac Newton's Discoveries, p. 16.

And the pale moon, her duteous, fair attendant; From folitary Mars; from the vaft orb Of Jupiter, whose huge gigantic bulk Dances in ether, like the lighteft leaf; To the dim verge, the fuburbs of the fystem, Where cheerlefs Saturn 'midft his wat'ry moons Girt with a lucid zone, majestic fits In gloomy grandeur, like an exil'd queen Amongst her weeping handmaids: fearless thence I launch into the tracklefs deeps of space, Where burning round ten thousand suns appear, Of elder beam ; which ask no leave to shine Of our terrestrial star, nor borrow light From the proud regent of our fcanty day; Sons of the morning, first-born of creation, And only lefs than Him who marks their track, And guides their fiery wheels. Here must I stop? Or is there aught beyond? What hand, unfeen, Impels me onward, through the glowing orbs Of habitable nature; far remote, To the dread confines of eternal night, To folitudes of vast unpeopled space, The defarts of creation, wide and wild; Where embryo fystems, and unkindled funs Sleep in the womb of chaos! Fancy droops, And thought, aftonish'd, stops her bold career !*

* Mrs. Barbauld's Evening Meditation.

Homer, whofe knowledge of the magnitude and diftances of the heavenly bodies, muft have been very confined, never difplays a more glowing imagination, than when he introduces them to our notice. And no one can view his animated picture of a moonlight and ftarry night, without feeling himfelf tranfported to the fcene, which it exhibits.

As when the moon, refulgent lamp of night, O'er heaven's clear azure fpreads her facred light;

When not a breath diffurbs the deep ferene, And not a cloud o'ercafts the folemn fcene; Around her throne the vivid planets roll, And ftars unnumber'd gild the glowing pole; O'er the dark trees a yellower verdure fhed, And tip with filver every mountain's head; Then fhine the vales, the rocks in profpect rife, A flood of glory burfts from all the fkies; The confcious fwains, rejoicing in the fight, Eye the blue vault, and blefs the ufeful light.*

* Pope's Homer's Iliad, Book VIII. line 687.

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Mr. Pope has translated this paffage with fingular felicity; and perhaps it may be the fastidious of criticis to remark, that a *refulgent moon* is not compatible with *vivid* planets, and *glowing stars*; because these fainter lights are eclipsed by the splendour of that luminary. But, though Homer, probably, did not mean to introduce a full moon, as his commentator Eustathius has observed, yet a judicious Poet has chosen to leave this bright orb out of the evening scenery, which so admirably pourtrayed.

----- Nature's felf is hufh'd; And but a fcattered leaf, which ruftles thro' The thick-wove foliage; not a found is heard To break the midnight air.

'Tis now the hour
When Contemplation, from her funlefs haunts,
Moves forward; and with radiant finger points
Where, one by one, the living eyes of heaven
Awake, quick kindling o'er the face of ether
One boundlefs blaze; ten thoufand trembling
fires

And dancing luftres, where th' unfteady eye, Reitlefs

Reftlefs and dazzled, wanders unconfin'd O'er all this field of glories.*

It may be amufing to contraft the foregoing defcriptions of the night, with thofe recorded by Mr. Macpherfon, in his translation of the poems of Offian. Five bards, paffing the night in the houfe of a Caledonian chief, went out feverally to make their obfervations; and returned with an extempore defcription of the night, which, as appears from the poem, was in the month of October. I shall here recite part of the composition of the fourth bard, as it is most analogous to the passages, above quoted.

"Night is calm and fair; blue, ftarry, fettled is night. The winds, with the clouds, are gone. They fink behind the hill. The moon is upon the mountain. Trees glifter; ftreams fhine on the rock. Bright rolls the fettled lake; bright the ftream of the vale.

* Mrs. Barbauld's Even. Med.

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"The breezes drive the blue mift, "flowly over the narrow vale. It rifes "on the hill, and joins its head to hea-"ven.—Night is fettled, calm, blue, "ftarry, bright with the moon. Re-"ceive me not, my friends; for lovely is "the night."*

In fouthern latitudes the HEAVENLY BODIES are far more refplendent, than when viewed through the thick atmofphere of Britain. It is faid, that, in Jamaica, the *milky way* is transferdently bright, and that the planet Venus appears like a little moon, glittering with fo vivid a beam, as to render visible the shadows of trees, buildings, and other objects.⁺ The fetting fun, in that island, exhibits a spectacle peculiarly august. His circumference being enlarged by the interposing vapours, and the refrac-

* Offian's Croma, p. 255, 4to Edition.

† Hift. of Jamaica, Book II. p. 371.

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tion of the rays of light retaining in view his glorious orb, he feems to rest awhile, from his career, on the fummit of the mountains. Then he fuddenly vanishes, leaving a train of fplendour, which ftreaks the clouds with the most lively and variegated tints, that the happiest fancy can conceive.* In defcribing fuch a fpectacle as this, the majefty of the great luminary generally abforbs the whole attention of the poet; and he takes little notice of the effect of the fun's declination, on terrestrial objects. Yet it is certain, that a landscape, of small extent, never appears more beautiful, than at the close of a fummer's day. Several causes then conspire to give a richnefs to the fcene, and no one fo powerfully, as the heightened verdure of the herbage, arifing, probably, from the combination of blue and yellow colours, reflected, at the fame time, from the golden clouds, and azure fky. Perhaps

* Hift. of Jamaica, Book II. p. 372.

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the increased refraction, and softened lustre of the evening rays of light, may alfo contribute to this effect. For the herbage at that time appears, not only more green, but more copious too: Infomuch that a pasture, which looks bare at noon, feems to abound in grafs at fun-fet. When thick black vapours hover about the western fun, and prefent only finall illumined edges, I have obferved a circle of green, furrounding his difc; an appearance, which I know not how to account for, but from the union, above defcribed, of blue and yellow rays. This phenomenon I faw, in great perfection, as I was lately travelling over the mountains, which divide the counties of Lancaster and York. The day was wet and ftormy; and the war of elements, which I beheld, gave me fome faint idea of what is experienced on the Alps and Andes; where the traveller views clouds at his feet, and corufcations of lightening darting, on all fides, below him.

him. Numberless meteors, which are unknown on the plain, present themselves to his aftonished fight; fuch as circular rainbows, parhelia, the shadow of the mountain projected on the air, and his own image adorned with a kind of glory, round the head.* How tremendous is the account, which Don Ulloa has given, of his station on the top of Cotopaxi, a mountain in Peru, more than three geographical miles above the level of the fea! Here he was stationed, a confiderable length of time, for the purpose of meafuring a degree of the meridian; and the hardships which he suffered, from the intenfeness of the cold, and the ftorms to which he was exposed, almost exceed belief. "The sky," fays he, " was generally obscured with thick fogs; " but, when these were dispersed, and " the clouds moved, by their gravity, " nearer the furface of the earth, they

* Ulloa, Vol. I. Acad. Par. 1744. Priestley on Light and Colours, page 599, &c.

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" furrounded the mountain to a vast dif-"tance, representing the sea, with our "rock, like an island in the center of "it. When this happened, we heard " the horrid noises of the tempests, " which discharged themselves on Quito, " and the neighbouring countries. We " faw the lightenings iffue from the " clouds, and heard the thunders roll " far beneath us. And, whilft the lower " regions were involved in tempefts of "thunder and rain, we enjoyed a de-"lightful ferenity. The wind was hufh-"ed, the fky clear, and the enlivening " rays of the fun moderated the feverity " of the cold."* How would a scene, like this, have been felt and defcribed by the Poet, of whom it is faid,

The arch of heaven, and thunders rock the ground; When furious whirlwinds rend the howling air, And ocean, groaning from his lowest bed,

. * Ulloa's Voyage, Vol. I. p. 231.

Heaves

Heaves his tempestuous billows to the sky: Amid the mighty uproar, while below The nations tremble, Shakespear looks abroad From some high cliff, superior, and enjoys The elemental war.*

The awful and gloomy grandeur of the mountainous fcenery of Peru is, perhaps, lefs favourable to the defcriptive powers of the poet, than the profpects which fome of the Alpine countries of Europe afford. In the cultivated diffricts of Switzerland, particularly, the views furnish the happiest combination of the sublime and beautiful. And I shall give a short abstract of the observations made, by a late traveller, on the Mole, a mountain, which rifes near five thousand feet above the lake of Geneva, and is fituated about eighteen miles eastward of that city. "In my afcent," fays Sir George Shuckburgh, " I faw the fun, rifing bc-" hind one of the neighbouring Alps,

* Akenfide's Pleafures of Imagination, Book III. line 590.

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" with a most beautiful effect; and the " shadow of the mountain, we were then " upon, extended fifteen or twenty miles "west. Before me, at some distance, "was fpread the plain, in which lay "Geneva and the lake; behind me rofe " the Dole, and the long chain of Mont "Jura. A little to the left, and much " nearer, lay Mont Saleve, which, from " this height, appeared an inconfiderable " hill. To the right and left, nothing " but immense rocks, and pointed moun-"tains, of every poffible shape, form-" ing tremendous precipices. In the "vale beneath, feveral little hamlets, " and the most beautiful pasturages, "with the river Arve, winding and " foftening the fcene. From whence. " arofe a thick evaporation, collecting " itself into clouds, which, on the lake, " that was quite covered with them, " had the appearance of a fea of cotton; " the fun's beams playing on the upper " furface of them, with those tints, which " are

" are feen in a fine evening. To the fouth weft, appeared the lake of Annecy; behind us lay the Glacieres, and, amongft them, towering above all the reft, ftood Mount Blanc. The circumference of the horizon might be about two hundred Englifh miles; and though not one of the moft extenfive, yet certainly one of the moft varied in the world."*

It is with a reluctance, fimilar, perhaps, to what this philofophical traveller experienced, when he defcended from the Mole, that I quit the imaginary vifion of this enchanting fcene. But it is neceffary to remark, that, however ftriking fuch complex and fublime reprefentations may be, they can only be introduced occafionally by the poet; whofe talents for defcription fhould be chiefly exercifed in the judicious felection and picturefque

* Philofoph. Transact. 1777, p. 536.

difplay

difplay of finall groups, or individual objects. Like the magnet, he must draw forth what is valuable, even from the rudeft materials; and nicely difcriminate, in every furrounding object, those attributes, which can be rendered fubfervient to his art. We are informed, that Thomfon was wont to wander whole days and nights in the country : And, in fuch fequestered walks, he acquired, by the most minute attention, a knowledge of all the mysteries of nature. Thefe he has wrought into his Seafons with the colouring of Titian, the wildnefs of Salvator Rofa, and the energy of Raphael.

Milton appears to have been no lefs familiar with nature, than Thomfon, and equally happy in his portraits of her moft pleafing forms. He catches every diftinguishing feature; and gives to what he defcribes, fuch glowing tints of life and reality, that we have it, as it were,

in full view before our eyes. How perfect is the image, in the following lines !

Between her white wings mantling, proudly rows Her ftate, with oary feet.*

Indeed the whole account of the creation, which the Archangel relates to Adam, is fo engaging and picturefque, that it would fully refute the criticifm of a learned Italian, if the poem contained no other beauties of a fimilar kind. "The poets beyond the Alps," fays Abbè Winckelmann, "fpeak *figuratively*, but "without *painting*. The ftrange and "fometimes terrifying figures, which "conftitute almost all the grandeur of "Milton, are by no means the *objetts* of "a *pencil*, but rather feem beyond the "reach of *painting*."[†] Surely the de-

* Paradife Loft, Book VII. line 438.

† Histoire des l'Arts chez les Anciens.

fcription

fcription of the fwan, above recited, might be copied on the canvas, by any artift, of tolerable genius. As Milton derived his knowledge of this beautiful bird from actual obfervation, he has not fallen into the error of the ancient poets, who have, almost univerfally, ascribed to it a mufical voice. Callimachus terms it "Apollo's tuneful fongster;" and Horace compliments Pindar with the epithet "Dircean fwan."* Such improprieties clearly evince the importance of natural knowledge to the poet.

The polity of ROOKS is almost confituted with as much order and wifdom, as that of ants, bees, and beavers; and their attachment to places contiguous

 Multa Dircæum levat aura Cycnum Tendit Antoni, quoties in altos Nubium tractus. Ode II. Lib. 4.
 In the addrefs to Melpomene, he fays, O mutis quoque pifcibus Donatura Cycni, fi libeat, fonum. Ode III.

to

to the dwellings of men, not only affords us frequent opportunities of observing them, but interests us, at the fame time, in their well-being and prefervation. These birds, therefore, furnish the poet with various topics, for the difplay of his art; and the following incident, by a little colouring, might be wrought into a pathetic picture. A large colony of rooks had fubfifted, many years, in a grove, on the banks of the river Irwell, near Manchester. One serene evening, I placed myfelf within the view of it, and marked, with attention, the various labours, pastimes, and evolutions of this crowded fociety. The idle members amufed themfelves with chacing each other, through endlefs mazes; and, in their flight, they made the air refound with an infinitude of discordant noises. In the midst of these playful exertions, it unfortunately happened, that one rook, by a fudden turn, struck his beak against the wing of another. The fufferer inftantly

stantly fell into the river. A general cry of diftress enfued. The birds hovered, with every expression of anxiety, over their diftressed companion. Animated by their fympathy, and perhaps by the language of counfel, known to themfelves, he fprung into the air, and by one strong effort, reached the point of a rock, which projected into the water. The exultation became loud and universal; but, alas! it was foon changed into notes of lamentation. For the poor wounded bird, in attempting to fly towards his neft, dropt again into the river, and was drowned, amidst the moans of his whole fraternity.

The habitudes of the domeftic breed of POULTRY cannot, possibly, escape obfervation: And every one must have noticed the fierce jealousy of the cock,

Whofe breaft with ardour flames, as on he walks, Graceful, and crows defiance.*

* Thomfon's Spring, line 772.

It should feem that this jealousy is not confined to his rivals, but may fometimes extend to his beloved female : And that he is capable of being actuated by revenge, founded on fome degree of reafoning, concerning her conjugal infidelity. An incident, which lately happened, at the feat of Mr. B*****, near Berwick, justifies this remark. "My mowers," fays he, "cut a par-"tridge on her neft, and immediately " brought the eggs (fourteen) to the "house. I ordered them to be put un-" der a very large beautiful hen, and her "own to be taken away. They were " hatched in two days, and the hen " brought them up perfectly well till "they were five or fix weeks old. Du-"ring that time they were constantly " kept confined in an outhouse, without " having been feen by any of the other " poultry. The door happened to be left " open, and the cock got in. My house-" keeper, S

" keeper, hearing her hen in diftrefs, " ran to her affiftance, but did not arrive " in time to fave her life. The cock, " finding her with the brood of par-" tridges, fell upon her with the utmoft " fury, and put her to death. The " houfe-keeper found him tearing her " both with his beak and fpurs, although " fhe was then fluttering in the laft " agony, and incapable of any refiftance. " The hen had been, formerly, the cock's " greateft favourite."

A writer, of no inconfiderable merit,* has employed his mufe, on a fubject highly interefting to the Englifh reader, in a didactic poem entitled the *Fleece*. In this work, whatever relates to the management of *fheep*, and the manufacture of wool, is largely difcuffed; and the whole is adorned by the introduction of rural imagery, and amufing digref-

* Mr. Dyer.

fions.

fions. But the performance might have been rendered much more entertaining, if it had comprehended a fuller account of the natural hiftory of the sheep; and had difplayed a nicer attention to the peculiar and pleafing character of that innocent animal, and of her fportive offspring. One fact should not have been omitted, in fuch a narrative; and I wonder it escaped Mr. Dyer's observation. I am informed, that, after the dam has been shorn, and turned into the fold to her lambs, they become eftranged to her, and that a fcene of reciprocal diftrefs enfues; which a man, of lively imagination, and tender feelings, might render highly interesting and pathetic. The poor fheep, when undergoing the operation of washing, and also when stripped of her warm and graceful covering is, in both circumftances a spectacle, of pity, and a proper object of poetical amplification. Had Mr. Sterne been the S 2 author

author of the Fleece, he would perhaps have introduced the following little episode. "Dear Sensibility! thou some-" times infpireft the rough peafant, who " traverses the bleakest mountains. - He " finds the lacerated lamb of another's "flock. This moment I beheld him, " leaning his head against his crook, " with piteous inclination looking down " upon it. - Oh! had I come one mo-"ment fooner!-It bleeds to death.-" His gentle heart bleeds with it.-Peace " to thee, generous fwain ! I fee thou " walkeft off with anguish; but thy joys " fhall balance it. For happy is thy " cottage; - and happy is the fharer of " it; — and happy are the lambs, which " fport about thee !"

SMOKE, iffuing from the chimney of a retired cottage, fhaded with trees, is a pleafing object. The waving line of beauty, in which it gradually afcends, and and the fucceffion of graceful forms, which it affumes, before it is loft in the atmosphere, adapts it to poetical description or comparison, as well as to the canvas of the painter. Mr. Dyer, in the poem above referred to, has thus represented its appearance, and affociated with it ideas of comfort and plenty, which tend to heighten the complacency of the beholder.

Yet your mild homefteads, ever blooming fmile Among embracing woods, and waft on high The breath of plenty, from the ruddy tops Of chimneys, curling o'er the gloomy trees, In airy, azure ringlets, to the fky.*

The FLOATING MISTS, which are feen on the tops and fides of hills, often put on a variety of agreeable shapes and colours. They constitute an interesting part of the scenery of Offian's poems;

* Dyer's Fleece, Book I. line 509.

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and

and are introduced, with peculiar propriety, as objects which, in a mountainous country, were continually within the view of his *dramatis perfonæ*. "The "mift of Cromla curls upon the rock, "and fhines to the beam of the weft. "The foft mift pours over the filent vale. "The foft mift pours over the filent vale. "The green flowers are filled with dew. "The fun returns in his ftrength; and "the mift is gone." Thefe beautiful forms fuggeft, to a devout mind, converfant with the writings of Milton, part of Adam's morning invocation.

Ye mifts and exhalations, that now rife From hill or fleaming lake, dufky or grey, Till the fun paint your fleecy fkirts with gold, In honour to the world's great Author rife, Whether to deck with clouds th' uncoloured fky, Or wet the thirfty earth with falling flowers, Rifing or falling, ftill advance his praife.*

The expression *steaming lake*, in the second line, is used with the strictest philosophical

* Milton, Book V.

truth.

truth. Thomfon has applied the fame epithet, with equal juftnefs, to that inteftine motion in the earth, by which Divine Providence

Works in the fecret deep, fhoots *fleaming* thence The fair profusion, that o'erfpreads the fpring.

For it appears, from fome late experiments, that fixteen hundred gallons of water rife, by evaporation, from an acre of ground, within the fpace of twelve hours, of a fummer's day.*

An inattentive obferver of nature would hardly remark the CURVILINEAR DIREC-TION, in the motion of animals. Yet certain it is, that neither birds, fifhes, infects, quadrupeds, nor men, ever move long in a ftraight line. The final caufe of this feems to be, that eafe may be alternately given to the mufcles, on the

* Watfon's Chemical Effays, Vol. III. p. 52.

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right

right and on the left fide of the body. When the muscles of the right fide are in a state of vigorous exertion, the direction of the body will incline that way; and when they require relief, those of the left fide come into action, and produce an opposite effect. Whoever follows a draught horfe heavily laden, will perceive the truth of this observation. And it is not more apparent on the beaten highway, than in the sheep-tracks on the heath, and in the paths, worn by the paffage of cattle to their watering places. Hence it is a rule, in the art of gardening, that walks and pleafure grounds should be ferpentine; as that form is most agreeable to nature, and therefore most confonant to an elegant and improved tafte.

Milton makes frequent mention of the FLAMING SWORDS, borne by the angelic spirits, and particularly by the cherubims, AND POETRY. 265

bims, who were stationed at the gate of Paradife.

And on the east fide of the garden place, Where entrance up from Eden easiest climbs, Cherubic watch; and of a sword, the stame Wide waving, all approach far off to fright, And guard all passage to the tree of life.*

If the Poet had been acquainted with the modern difcoveries in electricity, he might perhaps have feized this occafion of exerting his fuperior talents for defcription, by a more minute and pictorial difplay of *the fword of flame wide waving*. The reader, at leaft, may affift his imagination to conceive a more lively idea of it, by the following beautiful experiment.

Make a torricellian vacuum, in a glafs tube, about three feet long, and feal it

* Paradife Loft, Book XI. line 120.

hermetically,

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hermetically. Let one end of this tube be held in the hand, and the other applied to the electrical conductor; and immediately the whole tube will be illuminated, and when taken from the conductor, will continue luminous for a confiderable time. If it be then drawn through the hand, the light will be uncommonly intenfe, from end to end, without the least interruption. After this operation, which discharges it in a great measure, it will still flash at intervals, though held only at one extremity, and quite still. But if it be grasped by the other hand, at the fame time, in a different place, strong flashes of light will dart from one extremity to the other, and continue to do fo twenty-four hours, or perhaps longer, without fresh excitation.*

* See Dr. Priestley's Hist. of Electricity, p. 540.

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AND POETRY.

The foregoing experiment was made by Mr. Canton, to elucidate the nature of the Aurora Borealis, a phenomenon well fuited to exercise the fancy of the poet. But still more congenial to him are those illusive meteors, which sometimes occur in northern climates; and which, literally, give "to airy nothing a local habitation and a name." "I was " never more furprised," fays Crantz, in his Hiftory of Greenland, "than on a " fine warm fummer's day, to perceive " the islands, that lie four leagues west " of our fhore, putting on a form quite " different from what they are known " to have. As I ftood gazing upon them, " they appeared at first infinitely greater "than what they naturally are; and " feemed as if I viewed them through " a large magnifying glafs. They were " thus not only made larger, but brought " nearer to me : I plainly defcried every " ftone upon the land, and all the furrows " filled

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" filled with ice. When this deception " had lasted for a while, the prospect " feemed to break up, and a new fcene " of wonder to prefent itfelf. The islands " feemed to travel to the shore, and " reprefented a wood, or a tall cut hedge. " The fcene then shifted, and shewed " the appearance of all forts of curious " figures; as ships with fails, streamers, " and flags, antique elevated caftles with " decayed turrets; and a thoufand forms, " for which fancy found a refemblance " in nature. When the eye had been " fatisfied with gazing, the whole group " feemed to rife in air, and at length " vanish into nothing. At such times, "the air is quite ferene and clear; " but comprest with fubtle vapours; and " thefe, appearing between the eye and " the object, give it all that variety of " appearances, which glaffes, of different " refrangibilities, would have done."*

* See Goldsmith's History of the Earth, Vol. I.

However

AND POETRY.

However marvellous this narrative may appear to a phlegmatic reader, it will not feem incredible to the poet, whofe fancy can form a still brighter, and more gay creation, without the aid of aerial refractions or reflections. And if these fictions deviate not too far from verifimilitude, they agreeably agitate the mind with the mixed emotions of furprise and delight. But, in delineations of nature, they have no legitimate place; and the judgment rejects, with difgust, whatever falfifies the truth of defcription, by its obvious incongruity. Myrtle groves, perennial springs, unfading flowers, and odoriferous gales, the hackneyed Arcadian scenery, accord not with an English landscape. And equally unfuitable, to the views of this country, are the fpicy beauties, and pearly treafures of the East. Yet Milton, in his Comus, thus addreffes the goddefs of the Severn;

May

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May thy billows roll afhore, The beryl, and the golden ore! May thy lofty head be crown'd With many a tower, and terrace round; And here and there, thy banks upon, With groves of myrrh and cinnamon.

But the poet is not, upon all occafions, to be confined within the precife boundaries of truth. What writer, of lively fancy, in describing a morning walk on the banks of Kefwick, would not embellish the beauty of the scene by introducing the MELODY of BIRDS; and thus add the charms of mufic to all the enchantments of vision. Yet, I believe, there is not a feathered fongster to be found in those delightful vales; probably, owing to the terror infpired by the birds of prey, which abound on the mountains that furround them. At Grange, about four miles from the lake, there is an eagle's eyrie. The neft is circular, composed of twigs twifted together;

AND POETRY. 271

gether; and is more than a yard in diameter. The eagles, which inhabit it, are of the fpecies called the erne, or the vulture Albicilla, of Linnæus. And they are faid to commit great deftruction amongft the hares, partridges, groufe, and even lambs of that diffrict.*

I cannot clofe this Effay, without making an apology for the freedom of my ftrictures on poetical demerit. And I feel a peculiar diffidence with refpect to my animadverfions on a poet, who is juftly the boaft and glory of Britain. To pluck a leaf from the brow of Milton, may be deemed a facrilegious attempt to injure the laurels of our country: But it fhould be recollected, that error is moft dangerous, when dignified by high example; and that it is no difparagement to genius, however exalted,

* See Mr. Gray's Tour to the Lakes.

to

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to afcribe to it, fome portion of that imperfection, which is the common allotment of humanity.

TRIBUTE

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TRIBUTE

A

TO THE MEMORY OF

CHARLES DE POLIER, Esq;

ADDRESSED TO THE

LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF MANCHESTER,

T.

OCTOBER 30th, 1782.

A T a meeting of the LITERARY AND PHILO-SOPHICAL SOCIETY of MANCHESTER, the following refolution paffed unanimoufly.

"The Members of the LITERARY AND PHILO-SOPHICAL SOCIETY lamenting, with heartfelt concern, the death of their late much bonoured brother, CHARLES DE POLIER, E/q; unanimously resolve, that DR. PERCIVAL be requested to draw up a grateful and respectful Tribute to his Memory; to be inserted in the journals of the Society, with a view to record his distinguished merit, and to prolong the influence of his bright example."

NOVEMBER 13th, 1782.

At a meeting of the LITERARY AND PHILO-SOPHICAL SOCIETY, it was refolved unanimoufly, "That the Thanks of the Society be returned to DR. PERCIVAL, for his Tribute to the Memory of CHARLES DE POLIER, E/q; and that he be defired to print the fame." TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY

A

OF

CHARLES DE POLIÉR, E/q;

ADDRESSED TO THE

LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF MANCHESTER.

THE contemplation of moral and intellectual excellence affords the most pleasing and instructive exercise, to a well constituted mind. By exalting our ideas of the human character, it expands and heightens the principle of benevolence; and at the fame time is favourable to piety, by raising our views to the supreme Author of all that is fair and good in man. The wise and the virtuous have ever dwelt, with delight, on the meritorious talents and dispositions of their fellow-creatures : And an T 2 amiable

amiable philosopher drew, from this fource, fuch fweet confolations, under the toils and diftreffes of life, that he warmly recommends the practice to our imitation. "When you would recreate " yourself," fays M. Antoninus, " reflect " on the laudable qualities of your acquaint-" ance: On the magnanimity of one, the " modesty of another, or the liberality of a " third."* Generous meditation ! which every one, present, may indulge; and, by indulging, affimilate, to his own nature, the various perfections of others; transfusing, as it were, into his breaft, the virtues which he contemplates.

But can we engage ourfelves in fuch an exercife, without the most lively recollection of our late honoured and beloved colleague? His image prefents itfelf before us; and we inftantly recognife the agreeableness of his form, the animation of his countenance, the vigour of

* M, Antonin, Lib. VI.

his understanding, and the goodness of his heart. How graceful was his addrefs; how fprightly, entertaining, and intelligent his conversation! What rich stores of knowledge did he difplay; what facility in the use, what judgment in the application of them! Few have been the fubjects of discussion in this Society, which his observations have not enlightened: And what he could not himfelf elucidate, he has enabled others to do, by the pertinency of his queries, and the fagacity of his conjectures. So quick was his penetration; fo enlarged his comprehension; so exact the arrangement of his intellectual treasures! Learning, with some, is the parent of mental obfcurity; and the multiplicity of ideas, which have been acquired by fevere study, ferve only to produce perplexity and confusion. But Mr. de Polier's thoughts were always ready at command. And he engaged, with perspicuity, on every topic of discourse; because he faw,

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at one view, all its relations and analogies to those branches of knowledge, with which he was already acquainted. With such felicity of genius, he was continually making large accessions to his stock of fcience, without laborious refearches, or feclusion from the social enjoyments of life.

Of his abilities as a writer, he furnifhed us with a ftriking proof, in the Differtation he delivered, laft winter;* which is equally diftinguifhed by the juftnefs of its fentiments, and the purity of its diction; and fully difplays his perfect attainment, both of the idiom and embellifhments of the Englifh language.

But Mr. de Polier had merits, more eftimable than those, which he derived from the vivacity of his fancy, the elegance of his taste, or the powers of his

* On the pleafure which the mind receives, from the exercise of its faculties, and particularly that of *tafte*.

under-

understanding. And his friends will cordially unite with me in teftifying, that, if honoured for his intellectual, he was beloved for his moral endowments. His heart was open to every generous fympathy; and the fenfibility of his nature fo enlivened all his perceptions, that the ordinary duties of focial intercourfe were performed, by him, with a warmth, almost equal to that of friendship. Nor was this the artificial deportment of unmeaning courtefy; but the generous effusion of a heart, which felt for all mankind. In fuch philanthropy, politeness has its true foundation: And of this joint grace of nature and education, "which aids and ftrengthens Virtue " where it meets her, and imitates her "actions, where she is not," our lamented brother was a bright example. So engaging were his manners, and at the fame time fo fincere his difposition, that we may apply to him, with bonour, what Cicero meant as a reproach; that T. 4 he

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he was qualified, cum tristibus severe, cum remissis jucunde, cum senibus graviter, cum juventute comiter vivere. These powers of pleafing flowed from no fervile compliances, nor ever led him into criminal indulgences. As a companion, he was convivial without intemperance, and gay without levity or licentioufnefs. His conversation was sprightly and unreferved; but, in the most unguarded hours of mirth, exempt from all indecency and profaneness. And the fallies of his wit and pleafantry were fo feafoned with good humour, that they gave delight, unmixed with pain, even to those who were the objects of them. If the coarfer pleasures of the bottle be banished from our tables; or if rational conversation, and delicacy of behaviour, with the fweet fociety of the fofter fex, be now fubstituted in their room, this happy revolution has been rendered more complete by the influence of Mr. de Polier.

But

But though URBANITY, according to the most liberal interpretation of that. term, was the characteristic of our excellent colleague, he possessed other endowments, of more intrinsic value. And I could enlarge, with pleafure, on his nice fense of rectitude, his inviolable integrity, and facred regard to truth. These moral virtues were, in him, founded on no fictitious principle of bonour, but refulted from the constitution of his mind; and were strengthened by habit, regulated by reafon, and fanctioned by religion. For, notwithstanding, the veil which he chose to cast over his piety, it was manifest to his intimate friends; and may be recollected by others, who have marked the ferioufnefs, with which he difcourfed, on every fubject relative to the being and attributes of God. Defective indeed must be the character of that man, who can discern and acknowledge, without venerating the divine perfections; and partake of the

the bounties of nature, yet feel no emotions of gratitude towards its benevolent Author. " A little philosophy," fays lord Verulam, "may incline the mind to atheism; " but depth in philosophy will bring it about " again to religion."*

I have thus attempted to draw a rude fketch of the features, of our late honoured friend. A fuller delineation might furnifh a more pleafing picture to ftrangers; but, to the members of this fociety, a few outlines will fuffice to revive the image of the beloved original. This image, I truft, will be long and forcibly impreffed on our minds; and that every one, here prefent, may adopt the language of Tacitus, on a fimilar occafion. "Quicquid ex Agricola amavimus, quicquid

* The noble author fubjoins a just reason, for this observation. "For while the mind of man," fays he, "looketh upon "fecond causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and "go no farther: But when it beholdeth the chain of them "linked together, it must needs fly to Providence and Deity."

BACON's Effay on Atheifm.

« mirati

"mirati fumus, manet, manfurumque est in animis hominum." "Whatever in Agricola was the object of our love and of our admiration, remains, and will remain, in the hearts of all who knew him."

Having taken a fhort view of the character of Mr. de Polier, curiofity and attachment concur in prompting us, to extend the retrofpect; and we become folicitous to know fomething of his connections and education; and to trace the leading events of a life, in the conclusion of which we have been fo deeply interefted. But our friend was no egotift; and the zeal with which he entered into the concerns of others, precluded the detail of his own. I must content myfelf, therefore, with prefenting to the fociety, the following brief memoirs.

Charles de Polier Bottens was the fon of the Reverend — de Polier Bottens, Dean

Dean of the Cathedral Church of Laufanne, Prefident of the Synod of the Pais de Vaud, Member of the Society of Arts and Sciences at Manheim, and citizen of Geneva. He was born at Laufanne, in the year 1753; and received the first part of his education, in the public fchools of that city. As foon as he had acquired a fufficient knowledge of the claffics, he was fent to an academy near Caffel, in Germany; from whence, after a refidence of two years, he was removed to the university of Gottingen. In this celebrated feat of learning, he paffed three years; and being then inclined to a military life, he obtained a lieutenant's commission in the Swifs regiment of D'Erlact, in the French fervice. But he foon refigned his commission, and returned to Laufanne; where he had a command given him, in one of the Provincial regiments of dragoons. In this fituation, his connection commenced with the Earl of Tyrone; who offered him the tuition of his eldeft fon, (Lord

Lord le Poer, on terms equally honourable and advantageous. But before the engagement was completed, propofals were made to him by the duke of Saxe Gotha, to become governor to the hereditary prince, with an annuity, for life, of twelve hundred rixdollars; an apartment at court; and the post of chamberlain, or rank of colonel. These proposals, however, he declined in favour of lord Tyrone. And he executed the important truft, affigned to him, with fuch judgment, tendernefs, and fidelity, as induced that respectable nobleman to commit three of his children to his fole direction. These amiable youths he brought to England, in the fummer of 1779; and fettled them at the fchool of a clergyman in Manchester, who is eminently diftinguished by his virtues as a man, and abilities as a teacher.

At this period, our first acquaintance with Mr. de Polier was formed. By the

the laws of hospitality, he was entitled to our attention, as a stranger. But his perfonal accomplishments, and the charms of his conversation, soon superfeded the ordinary claims of cuftom, and converted formal civility into efteem and friendship. He became our companion in pleasure; our assistant in study; our counfellor in difficulty; and our folace in diftress. Amusement acquired a dignity and zeft, by his participation; and he foftened the aufterity of philofophy, whenever he joined in the purfuit. The inftitution, which now celebrates his memory, owes to him much of its popularity and fuccess; and, fo long as it fubfifts, his name will be revered, as one of its founders and most shining ornaments.

About the middle of last winter he was attacked by a complaint, which at first gave no disturbance to the vital functions. But being aggravated by the fatigues

fatigues of a long journey to Holyhead, and of a voyage from thence to Dublin, at a time when he laboured under the Influenza, his malady rapidly increased after his arrival in Ireland; and put a final period to his valuable life on the 18th of October 1782.* The vigour of his faculties, and the warmth of his affections, continued even to the hour of his diffolution. And the amiablenefs of his behaviour, in the clofing fcene of trial and fuffering through which he paffed, gave fuch completion to his character, that we may apply to him, what the Poet has faid of Mr. Addison;

--- He taught us how to live; and, oh! too high The price of knowledge, taught us how to die. +

On this affecting event, I cannot express your feelings and my own, in terms fo forcible as those of the animated hif-

* At CURRACHMORE, near WATERFORD, the feat of the Earl of Tyrone,

† Tickell's Poem on the Death of Addison.

torian,

torian, whom I have before quoted. Si quis piorum manibus locus; si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore exstinguuntur magnæ animæ; placide quiescas, nosque ab infirmo defiderio, ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces, quas neque lugeri, neque plangi fas est! Admiratione te potius temporalibus laudibus, et si natura suppeditet, militum decoramus !* " If there be any " habitation for the shades of the virtu-"ous; if, as philosophers suppose, ex-" alted fouls do not perifh with the body; "may you repofe in peace, and recall " us from vain regret, to the contem-" plation of your virtues, which allow " no place for mourning or complaint ! "Let us adorn your memory, rather, " by a fixed admiration, and, if our " natures will permit, by an imitation " of your excellent qualities, than by " temporary eulogies !" +

* Tacir. Vit. Agricolæ.

+ See Mr. Aikin's Translation of the Life of Agricola.

APPENDIX тотне SOCRATIC DISCOURSE;

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CONTAINING

SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS,

AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

ADVERTISEMENT.

As the Socratic mode of discussion admits not of interruption by notes, the author has chosen to insert, in this place, such additional REMARKS and ILLUS-TRATIONS, concerning the subject matter of the discourse on TRUTH, as further reading or reflection have suggested to his mind.

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APPENDIX

TOTHE

SOCRATIC DISCOURSE;

CONTAINING

SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS,

AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

I. TRUE AND FALSE HONOUR.*

THERE is a principle of HONOUR, which feems to be, in fome meafure, diftinct from that of virtue, and originates from the affociation of certain ideas of propriety, or pride, with rectitude of conduct. Amongst the ancient

* See page 11.

U 2

Greeks

Greeks and Romans, Virtue and Honour were deified; and a joint altar was confecrated to them at Rome. But afterwards each of them had feparate temples; fo connected, however, that no one could enter the temple of honour, without paffing through that of virtue.

The genuine principle of honour, in its full extent, may be defined, a quick perception, and lively feeling of moral obligation, particularly with refpect to probity and truth, in conjunction with an acute sensibility to shame, reproach, or infamy. But in different characters, these two constituent parts of the principle are found to exift in proportions fo widely diversified, as, fometimes, to appear almost fingle and detached. The former always aids and strengthens virtue; the latter may, occasionally, imitate ber actions, * when fashion happily countenances,

* Honour's a facred tie, the law of kings, The noble mind's diftinguishing perfection,

That

nances, or high example prompts to rectitude. But being connected, for the most part, with a jealous pride, and capricious irritability, it will be more shocked with the imputation, than with the commission of what is wrong. And thus it will constitute that spurious honour, which, by a perversion of the laws of affociation, puts evil for good, and good for evil; and, under the fanction of a name, perpetrates crimes without remorfe, and even without ignominy. To this empirical morality duelling owes its rife, which, with a fatal confidence, pretends to cure the indecorums of focial intercourfe, whilft it destroys the lives of individuals, subverts the peace of families, and violates the most facred laws of the community. It is aftonishing that a practice, which originated in the dark ages of ignorance,

> That aids and ftrengthens Virtue where it meets her, And imitates her actions where fhe is not: It ought not to be fported with.

> > Addison's Cato.

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fuperstition, and diforder, should be continued in this enlightened period, though condemned by the polity of every ftate, and utterly repugnant to the fpirit, and precepts of Christianity. The ancient Germans, Danes, and Franks, were used to decide criminal questions of fact, in the last refort, by combat. But this method of trial, about the close of the fifth century, was reftrained to the following conditions. 1. That the crime, for which it was inftituted, should be capital. 2. That it fhould be certain, that the crime had been perpetrated. 3. That the accused, by common fame, should be fupposed guilty. 4. That the matter should not be capable of proof by witneffes. A cuftom, thus regulated, appears wife and equitable, in comparison with modern duelling, which has feldom any object, but the redrefs of fantastic wrongs, or the difplay of refentment, that often subsides before its execution. Is there a man of probity and humanity, and

and many of this character, I am perfuaded, have been feduced by the illufions of falfe honour, who, if not prohibited by law, would think himfelf authorifed to call forth his antagonist, place him as a mark, and appoint a ruffian to fire a pistol at him, because, in the heat of argument, or in the unguarded hours of convivial mirth, he has committed fome trifling offence, or verbal incivility? And is it not adding the most egregious folly to injustice, to undertake himself this opprobrious office, at the hazard of his own life, and to the ruin, perhaps, of his dearest connections? For, I prefume, it now forms no part of the creed of the duellift, that Divine Providence will interpofe, on fuch occafions, to preferve the injured, and to punish the aggreffor.

The military fpirit, which a long war has revived amongst the inhabitants of this country, and which the armed asso-U 4 ciations

ciations, established in different places, cannot fail to foster and support, may, perhaps, contribute to multiply challenges, and to extend the practice of single combat. Courage is so effential to the character of a foldier, that it becomes magnified in his eftimation, far beyond its real defert: And he is not only in danger of mistaking its true nature, and proper object, but of acquiring a contempt for every virtue, which, in his perverted judgment, stands in competition with it. ' Like Achilles, jura negat sibi nata; nihil non arrogat armis. Reafon and religion should, therefore, exert their united authority, to check the influence of fuch baneful errors: And law should rigorously punish, with difgrace and infamy, the man, who can facrifice humanity to pride, and juffice to the specious counterfeit of gallantry.

I shall close this section with the following passage, from the celebrated Commen-

Commentaries of Sir William Blackstone. " Express malice is, when one, with a " fedate, deliberate mind, and formed " defign, doth kill another; which formed " defign is evidenced by external cir-" cumftances difcovering that inward " intention; as, lying in wait, antecedent "menaces, former grudges, and con-" certed fchemes to do him fome bodily "harm. This takes in the cafe of deli-" berate duelling, where both parties "meet, avowedly, with an intent to "murder; thinking it their duty as " gentlemen, and claiming it as their "right, to wanton with their own lives, and those of their fellow-creatures; " without any warrant or authority, from " any power, either human or divine, " but in direct contradiction to the laws "both of God and man: And there-" fore, the law has justly fixed the crime " and punishment of murder, on them, " and on their feconds alfo." *

* Book IV, Chap. 14.

II. FALSE

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II. FALSE MAXIMS OF MORALITY.*

THE hiftory of Lord Herbert, of Cherbury, admirably exemplifies the folly and danger of adopting FALSE MAXIMS of MORALITY. From the variety of inftances, which offer themfelves, in the memoirs of this romantic nobleman, I shall select the following. During his abode at the duke of Montmorency's, about twenty-four miles from Paris, it happened, one evening, that a daughter of the dutchess de Ventadour, of about ten or eleven years of age, went to walk in the meadows with his lordship, and feveral other gentlemen and ladies. The young lady wore a knot of ribband on her head, which a French chevalier fnatched away, and fastened to his hatband. He was defired to return it, but

* See page 13.

refused.

refused. The lady then requested lord Herbert to recover it for her. A race enfued; and the chevalier, finding himfelf likely to be overtaken, made a fudden turn, and was about to deliver his prize to the young lady, when lord Herbert feized his arm, and cried out, " I give it you." "Pardon me," faid the lady, " it is he who gives it me." "Madam," replied lord Herbert, "I « will not contradict you; but if the " chevalier do not acknowledge, that I " conftrain him to give the ribband, " I will fight with him." And the next day he fent him a challenge, "being " bound thereunto," fays he, " by the "oath taken when I was made knight " of the bath."

He relates, alfo, three other fimilar cafes, to fhew, how strictly he held himself to his oath of knighthood. "This oath," fays the ingenious editor of lord Herbert's life, " is one remnant of a fuperstitious " and

" and romantic age, which an age, call-"ing itfelf enlightened, ftill retains. " The folemn fervice at the inveftiture " of the knights, which has not the leaft " connection with any thing holy, is " a piece of the fame profane pageantry. " The oath being no longer fuppofed " to bind, it is ftrange mockery to in-" voke heaven on fo trifling an occafion." And it would be more ftrange, if each knight, like the mifguided lord Herbert, fhould think himfelf obliged to cut a man's throat, whenever a young lady lofes her top-knot!

These religious engagements are so often misapplied, that it cannot be unseasonable, to enter into a brief discussion of their true nature and obligation. A vow may be defined, a devout promise made to GOD, respecting either the performance, or omission, of some voluntary act; and is often accompanied with an imprecation of Divine vengeance, on the infraction

of it. The only legitimate use of fuch an engagement is, to increase our abhorrence of what is evil, and to confirm our refolution in the more arduous purfuits of virtue. It cannot, therefore, be applied to the neglect of any antecedent duty, or to the accomplishment of any impious or immoral purpofe. Were it otherwife, these arbitrary ties might be made a plea for violating every law, whether human or divine. Even prudence, in certain cafes, is of fufficient force to superfede the validity of a vow. Thus, if the superstitious parent of a numerous and helplefs family were, in fome preffing danger, to invoke the affistance of Heaven, by the most folemn avowal of his refolution, to give all his fubstance to the church, or to the poor; fuch an abfurd intention has not the nature of an engagement, and is void in itfelf. For, we are affured, that the execution of it could never prove acceptable to a wife and benevolent Deity, with

with whom alone the contract was made. But this reafoning does not extend to rafh and injurious bargains; or to promifes of a focial nature, which have been confirmed by an oath. For, as the maintenance of faith is of the higheft importance in the commerce of life, to add impiety to the breach of it, must certainly be deemed an aggravation of the offence. And in fuch inftances the good man changeth not, though be fwear to his own burt.

III. FEALTY TO MAGISTRATES.*

THE COMMANDS of the MAGISTRATE, or of the LEGISLATURE, are not binding, when they oppose the known and acknowledged obligations of morality. And the younger Cato has been justly cenfured, for engaging in the execution,

* See page 14.

of what he himfelf deemed a violent and most oppressive sentence, against Ptolemy, king of Cyprus. This prince was brother to the king of Egypt; and reigned by the fame right of hereditary fucceffion. He was in full peace and amity with Rome; and was accused of no practices, nor suspected of any designs, against the republic. But the infamous Clodius, who was then tribune, proposed and obtained the law, from motives of private pique and revenge. To give a fanction to it, Cato was charged with its fulfilment; and undertook the commission, though contrary to all his ideas of justice and rectitude. I believe no moralist, of the present times, will admit the validity of Cicero's apology, for the misconduct of his friend. "The " commission," fays he, " was defigned "not to adorn, but to banish Cato; " not offered, but imposed upon him. "Why then did he obey it? For the " fame reason, that he swore to obey " other

" other laws, which he knew to be un-" juft; that he might not expose himself " to the fury of his enemies, or, by a " fruitles pertinacity, deprive the re-" public of his services." Orat. pro Sexto.

The conduct of SCIPIO AFRICANUS, in the destruction of the brave Numantines, is equally reprehensible. For it is confessed, by Lucius Florus, that the Romans commenced hoftilities against that people, without even a pretence to render them justifiable. And the horrid barbarities, exercifed in the fiege of Numantia, excite peculiar indignation, from the unparalleled fortitude and vigour, which the inhabitants difplayed, in the defence of their liberties. Such bravery, exerted in a caufe fo noble, merited the patronage, and should have called forth the clemency, not the refentment, of Scipio. But the Romans appear to have entertained no confistent ideas, concerning

concerning the privileges of other nations, or the common rights of mankind. They proudly arrogated to themfelves the government of the world; and the maxim, regere imperio populos,* was the plea for every conqueft. This principle pervades the writings of all their poets and historians: And even the philosophical TACITUS, in delivering the memoirs of Agricola, expresses not the flightest disapprobation, of the numerous, and deftructive expeditions into Britain. Yet he has, inadvertently, put into the mouth of Galgacus, one of the chieftains of our warlike anceftors, fuch fentiments, as may be deemed a stigma on his venerable father-in-law, for obedience to imperial mandates, founded on cruelty and injustice. Raptores orbis, postquam cunEta vastantibus defuere, terra, et mare scrutantur: Si locuples hostis

* Tu, REGERE IMPERIO POPULOS, Romane memento, (Hæ tibi erunt artes) pacisque imponere morem, Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos. VIRG.

X



est, avari; si pauper, ambitiosi. Quos non oriens, non occidens satiaverit: Soli omnium, opes atque inopiam, pari affectu concupiscunt. Auferre, trucidare, rapere falsis nominibus, imperium; atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem apellant.*

"Thefe plunderers of the world, after exhaufting the land by their devaftations, are rifling the ocean: ftimulated by avarice, if their enemy be rich; by ambition, if poor: Unfatiated by the eaft, and by the weft: The only people, who behold wealth and indigence with equal avidity: To ravage, to flaughter, to ufurp, under falfe titles, they call empire: And when they make a defart, they call it peace." †

Modern conquests have been founded on claims equally invalid and tyrannical, with those of the Romans. It is a fatire

* Tacit. Vit. Agric.

+ Aikin's Translation of the Life of Agricola.

on human reafon, and still more difgraceful to the moral feelings of mankind, to review the principles, on which the Spaniards affected to establish their rights to the extensive dominions in the new world. Their generals were inftructed to notify, with great formality, to the innocent and ignorant natives of the western hemisphere, that St. Peter had fubjected the universe to the jurifdiction of the Roman Pontiff; and that this lord of the whole creation had made a grant of the islands, of the Terra Firma, and of the ocean, to the Catholic Kings of Castile. To these monarchs they were required to fubject themfelves; and, if they refused, the most exemplary vengeance was denounced against them. They were threatened to be defpoiled of their wives and children, to have their country ravaged, and to be themfelves fold for flaves.*

* See Herrara, Dec. I. Lib. 7, Cap. 14. also Robertson's History of America, note 23.

X 2

Instances,

Inftances, like thefe, afford the moft irrefragable evidence, that fealty to magiftrates muft always be regarded, as a conditional obligation; and that implicit obedience to their commands may involve us in high degrees of guilt and infamy.

IV. FALSE OPINIONS CONCERNING FRIENDSHIP.*

MANY of the ancients appear to have entertained very enthuliaftic notions of FRIENDSHIP; and to have fuppofed, that it fuperfedes, in particular circumftances, both wildom and prudence, and every fpecies of moral obligation. When Bloffius, the bolom companion of the elder Gracchus, was fummoned before the fenate of Rome, after the tumult which proved fatal to that tribune, he was interrogated, whether

* See page 19.

he had always obeyed the commands of Gracchus? "Yes," answered Bloffius, " most punctually, for fo I thought it "my duty to do. And, if it had been " possible for him to defire me to fire " the Capitol, I should not have fcrupled " to comply, from my full confidence in " his rectitude."* The folly and criminality of fuch a blind facrifice of reafon and judgment to the will of another, are too obvious to need any comment. Connections, of this fervile nature, merit not the honourable appellation of friendship. And we may justly adopt the opinion, which Cicero has delivered, concerning them : Si omnia facienda fint, quæ amici velint, non AMICITIÆ tales sed conjurationes putandæ sunt. †

Not lefs foreign to the true obligations of this amiable and venerable paffion,

* Plut. Vit. Gracchi. [†] Cic. de Off.
----- The friendships of the world
Are oft confederacies in vice. ADDISON'S Cato.

was

was the exclamation of Themistocles : "God forbid, that I should fit upon a "tribunal, where my friends were not "more favoured than ftrangers !" The letter of king Agefilaus, to one of the Spartan judges, which Plutarch has preferved, is a still more striking proof of the practical influence of the fame falfe opinion; becaufe this prince was a man of probity and equity, virtues which belonged not to the Athenian statesmen. " If Nicias be innocent," fays he, " acquit " him, for the fake of justice; but, if he " be guilty, acquit him, for the fake of "my attachment to him."* The Roman moralift, whom I have fo lately quoted, very forcibly objects to the interference of friendship, in the magisterial functions: Yet, by a strange delusion, he permits an advocate to give a plausible colouring to the offence, with which his friend is charged; and to place the fact in the

* Plut. in Vit. Agefilai.

moft

most advantageous, though it should be a false light.* In his treatife de Amicitia, he remarks, that, " in cafes, which affect " the life, or good fame of a friend, it "may be allowable to deviate, a little, " from what is *stristly right*, in order to " comply with his defires; provided, " however, that our own character be " not injured by it." Such loofe and erroneous maxims certainly merit animadverfion. And I shall relate the following incident, which occurred feveral centuries before the period of Cicero, as an antidote to them. Chilo, the Lacedemonian, one of the fages of Greece, who is celebrated for the fentence, KNOW THYSELF, which he caufed to be written, at Delphos, in letters of gold, is faid to have addreffed himfelf to his friends, when on his death bed, in terms to this effect. "I cannot, through the course " of a long life, look back, with uneafi-

* Cic. de Off. Lib. II. 14.

X 4

" nefs,

" nefs, upon any fingle instance of my " conduct, unless, perhaps, on that, which "I am going to mention, wherein, I " confefs, I am still doubtful, whether "I acted properly or not. I was once " appointed judge, in conjunction with "two others, when my particular friend "was arraigned before us. Were the " laws to have taken their due courfe, " he must, inevitably, have been con-" demned to die. After much debate, "therefore, with myself, I adopted this " expedient. I gave my own vote, ac-" cording to my confcience, but, at the " fame time, employed all my eloquence " to prevail with my affociates to abfolve " the criminal. Now I cannot but re-" flect upon this act, with concern, from " an apprehenfion, that there was fome-" thing of perfidy, in perfuading others " to go counter to what I myfelf efteemed "right."*

* See fome judicious observations on this subject, in Fitzosborne's Letters.

Tully's

Tully's falfe ideas, concerning the privileges of friendship, betrayed him on feveral occasions, into meanness, and even immorality of conduct. In one of his letters, he earnestly folicits Atticus, to be guilty of prevarication, in his defence. It feems that he had written an invective oration, against an eminent fenator, supposed to be Curio. The piece was defigned only for the entertainment of a felect party; but had fallen into the hands of his enemies, and been published by them. He wrote, therefore, to his friend, in the following terms. Percussifiti autem me de oratione prolata; cui vulneri, ut scribis, medere, si quid potes. _____ et, quia scripta mibi videtur negligentius, quam cæteræ, puto posses probare non esse meam.* "You have " fhocked me with the news that my " oration is made public. Heal the " wound, if you poffibly can.

* Ep. ad Attic. III, 12,

"As it is written more negligently than "my other orations, I think you may "prove it not to be mine." It is remarkable, that Tully fhould have made a requeft, of this nature, to Atticus, who is faid to have had fuch an abhorrence of deceit, that he never uttered a falfhood himfelf, nor could pardon it in another. Cicero's letter to Lucceius, requefting him to write the hiftory of his life, " and " not to reject the generous partiality " of friendfhip, but to give more to affec-" tion than to truth," is too well known to be recited here. *

But,

* In the intercourfe of friendship, the Romans do not appear to have displayed much delicacy of fentiment. The passages, which I have quoted from Cicero, evince the truth of this observation. Horace affords a further confirmation of it, in the close of his beautiful address to Grosphus, Ode XVI. Lib. 2. And Pliny, in one of his familiar epistles (Ep. XIX. Lib. 1.) disgraces an act of the most exalted generosity, by the infult to amity, which accompanies it. "Born," fays he to Romanus Firmus, "in the fame town, educated in the "fame school, and living together, from our early youth, in "habits of strict connection, I feel the strongest motives to "promote the advancement of your fortune and dignity. I "fend

But, extravagantly as many of the ancients have effimated friendfhip, a modern writer, of diftinguifhed eminence, has rated it ftill higher; and does not hefitate to affert, that all the difcourfes on the fubject, which are handed down to us, appear to him flat and low, in comparifon with the fenfe, which he entertains of it. "This bond," he fays, "diffolves every antecedent obligation, " and the fecret, which I have fworn " not to reveal to another, I may, with-" out perjury, communicate to him, who

"fend you, therefore, three hundred thousand festerces, "(f_{2421} sterling) to elevate you from the rank of Decurio, "to that of a Roman Knight." But he then adds, "From "my knowledge of your character, it is unnecessary to ad-"monifh you to behave, in your new station, thus conferred by "me, with the modesty, which becomes my beneficiary. "For that honour should be folicitously preferved, in which "the reputation of a benefactor is involved." Ego ne illud quidem admoneo, quod admonere deberem, nisi te scirem sponte facturum, ut dignitate à me data quam modestissime, ut a me data, utare. Nam folicitius custodiendus est bonor, in quo etiam beneficium amici tuendum est.

" is not another, but myself."* If the author of the Internal Evidence of Chriftianity + had confined himfelf to fuch unwarrantable ideas of friendship, when he divefts it of the fanction of our divine Law-giver, there could be no difficulty in acquiescing in his decision. But an affection, fo congenial to the principles of our religion, when properly governed, and judiciously directed, feems to merit, and, I trust, is not destitute of, evangelical fupport. Benevolence is, indeed, the great law of the Gospel dispensation; but it must have its commencement in the more confined and partial charities : And the man, who has felt not the appropriated regard of a fon, a brother, a husband, or a friend, cannot have a heart capable of being expanded with philanthropy. Even piety itself originates from the filial relation, and we learn to transfer, to the Deity, that gratitude

* See Montaigne's Effays, Book I. Chap. 27.

† Soame Jenyns, Esq.

and

and veneration, with which the tender offices, and wifdom of our parents firft infpired us. It is not the object of Chriftianity to overturn, but to regulate the œconomy of the human mind : And, if benevolence must have its foundation in private affection, the divine law, which directs the former, neceffarily inculcates the latter.

That our Saviour himfelf experienced the tendereft fympathies of friendfhip, may, I think, be juftly deduced, both from his ftrong attachment to John, the favourite difciple, and from the expreffions of peculiar endearment, with which he performed the miracle of raifing Lazarus from the dead. On this affecting occafion, the Evangelift relates, that Jefus wept: And fo fenfible were the Jews of the anguish of his foul, that they cried out, Behold how he loved him !* And,

* John, Chapter xi. ver. 35, 36. See fome admirable re-Aections on this fubject, in the notes to Mr. Melmoth's translation of Lælius.

if Christ gave such a decisive proof of perfonal attachment and friendship, the history of the Gospel no less clearly evinces, that his disciples felt an affection of the fame tender and peculiar kind, to their Divine Master. In the pathetic conversation, which passed, previous to the fufferings and death of Jesus, when he prophetically, but tenderly charged them with their future defection, Peter, in the warmth of his regard, replied, though I should die with thee, yet will I not deny thee. The bitter repentance of this Apostle, subsequent to the mifconduct, which his great Master had predicted, affords a further difplay of the force of his friendship. And Chrift himfelf, afterwards, honoured him with the kindeft and most explicit acknowledgment of it. So, when they had dined, Jesus saith to Simon Peter, Simon son of Jonas, lovest thou me, more than these? He saith unto him, Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He faith unto bin,

bim, feed my lambs. He faith unto bim again, the fecond time, Simon, fon of Jonas, lovest thou me? He faith unto bim, Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He faith unto him, feed my sheep. He faith unto bim, the third time, Simon, fon of Jonas, lovest thou me? Peter was grieved because he faid unto him the third time, lovest thou me? And he faid unto him, Lord, thou knowest all things; thou knowest that I love thee. Jesus faith unto him, feed my sheep.*

In the interesting paffage, here recited, that lively, reciprocal, and peculiar regard, which constitutes friendship, is not only recognised, but appealed to, and authorised, as a generous and animating principle of action. And, if the great Founder of our religion has no where expressly ordained it, as a duty, it is probably, because this virtue is of *special*, and not of *univerfal* obligation;

* John, Chap. xxi. ver. 15, 16, 17.

depending

depending on particular relations, and contingent circumstances, which human power can feldom influence or command. It may be added, too, that the divine law prefuppofes the exiftence of fuch affections, as are purely natural and fpontaneous; and directs its precepts, not to their production, but folely to their government and regulation. Hence, we find not, in the whole compass of the scriptures, one explicit injunction to parents, to love their children.* Yet, furely, this very effential moral office is not to be excluded from the catalogue of evangelical graces, notwithstanding the filence of facred writ, concerning it. And the fame plea may be extended to friendship, with due allowance for its rarer occurrence, and more partial obligation. The Christian, therefore, in perfect confiftency with his

faith,

^{*} See Dr. Ogden's fermon on the duty of parents to children, Vol. II. p. 157.

faith, may admire and imitate the examples of generous amity, which hiftory and obfervation exhibit to his view. Peradventure for a good man, fays the Apostle, some might even dare to die. And the facrifice of our own eafe, interest, or life itself, for the advantage of another, with whom we are connected by ftrong and peculiar ties, may not only be justifiable, but highly honourable and meritorious. Let it be remembered, however, that the privileges of friendship are subordinate to the rights of fociety; and that no attachment, merely perfonal, can warrant the violation of justice, fidelity, or truth.*

V. DISPU-

* The ideas, which have been entertained of VALOUR, and the LOVE of OUT COUNTRY, are full more licentious than those above recited, concerning FRIENDSHIP. It should teem, that the understanding is dazzled by the splendour, which usually accompanies these virtues; and that they are estimated by the rarity of their occurrence, or by the elevated station of their possess, rather than by the standard of intrinsic merit, or public utility. Justice and probity are flightly regarded, 322

V. DISPUTATION.*

POLEMIC SKILL is a dangerous qualification; and, if not governed by charity, wifdom, and integrity, may betray the poffeffor, either into intemperate zeal, or abfolute indifference for truth. Every object affumes an import-

as the ordinary duties of focial life, equally incumbent on all ranks of men : And he, who practifes them, appears to have no claim to more than common approbation. But great exertions of courage or patriotifm, as they exceed the demands, fo they proportionably excite the admiration of our fellow-citizens. This admiration kindles in the mind an enthufiafm, which often fufpends, and fometimes fuppreffes the calmer principles of humanity, equity, and truth. And the hero or patriot is indulged in all the privileges, which he affumes; nothing being judged criminal, that promotes the perfonal glory of the one, or the ambitious views of the other. The hiftory of all ages confirms the truth of these observations : But they are more particularly applicable to the records of antiquity; which, for the most part, celebrate the deeds of warriors and flatefinen, with unqualified applaufe, and without the leaft diferimination of right and wrong.

* See page 102.

ance, in our estimation, proportioned, in fome degree, to the labour and attention which we beftow upon it. And the fame enthusiasm, that dignifies a butterfly or a medal to the virtuofo and the antiquary, may convert controverfy into quixotifm; and prefent, to the deluded imagination of the theological knight-errant, a barber's bason, as Mambrino's helmet.* The real value of any doctrine can only be determined, by its influence on the conduct of man, with respect to himself, to his fellow-creatures, or to God. And it has been well observed, by a writer, of diftinguished abilities, that some kinds of error and fuperstition are fo intimately connected with truth and virtue, as to render the feparation of them impracticable, without doing violence to both. It is better, therefore, according to our Saviour's excellent advice,

* See Don Quixote.

to let a few tares grow up with the wheat, (if they be of fuch a nature, as to fuffer the wheat to grow along with them,) than to endanger the deftruction of the wheat, by rooting up the tares.*

Bigotry may be affociated with truth, as well as with error : And this temper of mind is always unfavourable to piety and philanthropy, whatever be the principles on which it is founded. Erafinus afferts, that most of the reformers, with whom he was acquainted, became worfe men, in consequence of the revolution, which they accomplifhed. I know not whether this fact will be admitted, on his authority. But certain it is, that the fury of zeal, and the acrimony of difputation, are neither. confonant to the religion of nature, nor to the meek and peaceable fpirit of the Gofpel.

* See Prieftley on the Sacrament, page 64.

But polemic skill is fometimes employed in the defence of opinions, which are known or believed to be falfe. And, by this practice, the understanding either becomes the dupe of its own impositions; or acquires that indifference to truth, which constitutes incurable fcepticifm, and fometimes terminates in the most fatal depravity. For he, who has learned to be regardlefs of right and wrong, in sentiment or in principle, can have no folicitude about the like diftinctions, in his difpofitions or behaviour. Such moral apathy gives full fcope to every irregular defire, and vicious propenfity. And, if it be affociated with great intellectual endowments, a character may be formed, at once the glory and the difgrace of human nature. Salluft describes Catiline as subdolus, varius, cujustibet rei SIMULATOR ac DISSIMULATOR. And I am inclined to believe, that the remarkable portrait of SERVIN, which the duke of Sully has drawn, owes fome

Y 3

of

of its most distinguishing features to the caufe, here alluded to. " Let the reader " represent, to himself, a man of a genius " fo lively, and an understanding fo ex-" tenfive, as rendered him fcarcely igno-" rant of any thing that could be known; " of fo vaft and ready a comprehension, "that he immediately made himfelf " mafter of whatever he attempted; and " of fo prodigious a memory, that he " never forgot what he had once learned. "He possessed all parts of philosophy " and the mathematics, particularly for-" tification and drawing. Even, in Theo-" logy, he was so well skilled, that he was. " an excellent preacher, whenever he had a " mind to exert that talent, and an able " disputant, for and against the reformed re-" ligion indifferently. He not only under-"ftood Greek, Hebrew, and all the " languages, which we call learned, but " also all the different jargons, or modern " dialects. He also accented and pro-" nounced them fo naturally, and fo " perfectly

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" perfectly imitated the geftures and " manners, both of the feveral nations of " Europe, and the particular provinces " of France, that he might have been "taken for a native of all, or any of "thefe countries; and this quality he " applied to counterfeit all forts of per-" fons, wherein he fucceeded wonder-"fully. He was, moreover, the best " comedian and greateft droll, that, per-" haps, ever appeared. He had a genius " for poetry, and had written many "verfes. He played upon almost all " instruments, was a perfect master of "mufic, and fung moft agreeably and "justly. He likewise could say mass; for " he was of a disposition to do, as well as " to know, all things. His body was per-" fectly well fuited to his mind; he was " light, nimble, dextrous, and fit for all " exercifes : He could ride well; and in " dancing, wreftling, and leaping, he was " admired. There are not any recre-" ative games that he did not know; Y 4 " and

" and he was skilled in almost all me-" chanic arts. But, now for the reverse " of the medal : Here it appeared, that "he was treacherous, cruel, cowardly, " deceitful; a liar, a cheat, a drunkard, " and a glutton; a sharper in play, im-"merfed in every fpecies of vice, a " blafphemer, an atheift. In a word, " in him might be found all the vices " contrary to nature, honour, religion, " and fociety; the truth of which he " himfelf evinced with his lateft breath; " for he died, in the flower of his age, " in a common brothel, perfectly cor-"rupted by his debaucheries, and ex-" pired, with a glafs in his hand, curfing " and denying God."*

* See the Translation of Sully's Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 92.

VI. INDIS-

VI. INDISCRIMINATE PLEADINGS OF LAWYERS.*

THE Roman orators undertook the defence of their clients, or dependents, in the courts of judicature, without fee or reward. And, under fuch circumftances, it might be fuppofed, that their pleadings would be regulated by the purest principles of justice or rectitude. But the fact was, frequently, far otherwife. Hortenfius fupported the cause of the infamous Verres: And even Cicero seems to have formed a defign of undertaking that of Catiline, when he was brought to a trial, on account of his cruel and fcandalous oppreffions in Africa. For, in a letter to Atticus, he fays, "It is my prefent intention to

* See page 108.

" defend

329.

" defend Catiline. We have judges to " our mind; yet fuch as pleafe the accufer himfelf. I hope, if he be acquitted, it will incline him to ferve " me in our common petition."

Modern lawyers, in their ordinary practice, are governed by other motives, than those of ambition, or the defire of influence. Yet the profession, in its original establishment, appears to have difclaimed all mercenary confiderations. And, even according to the laws, which now fubfift, no counsellor can maintain an action for his fees, or fo much as demand them, without doing wrong to his reputation.* He is liable, alfo, to a year's imprisonment, and to be condemned to perpetual filence, in the courts, if detected in the practice of deceit or collusion. +

* See Blackftone's Commentaries, Book III. Chap. 3.

5 2 x

† Statute Westm. I. 3 Edw. I. Chap. 28. Blackstone's Commentaries, Book III. Chap. 3.

How

How far the gentlemen of the bar have conformed themfelves to this ftatute, I am not competent to determine. But Bishop Burnet relates, of the father of Sir Matthew Hale, that he had fuch strictnels of conscience, as to lay down his profession, because he disapproved of the common mode of giving colour, in pleadings; which he thought a culpable deviation from truth. It is recorded alfo of Sir Matthew Hale himfelf, that, whenever he was convinced of the injustice of any cause, he would engage no farther in it, than to explain, to his client, the grounds of that conviction. His biographer fays, that he abhorred the practice of mifreciting evidences, quoting precedents or books falfely or unfairly, fo as to deceive ignorant juries, or inattentive judges; and that he adhered to the fame fcrupulous fincerity in his pleadings, which he observed in the other transactions of his life. For, he used to fay, se it

" it was as great a difhonour, as a man was capable of, that, for a little money, he was to be hired to fay or do, otherwife than he thought." *

* See British Biography, Vol. V. p. 383.

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